ΠΥΡΩΣΙΣ AND THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER 4:12

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Emilie T. Sander

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Emilie T. Sander [Th.D.] ΠΥΡΩΣΙΣ and the First Epistle of Peter 4:12.

The word study of πύρωσις in 1 Peter 4:12 presented in this dissertation grew out of a study of 1 Peter 4:12-19 as an admonition to steadfastness in the face of persecution. The pericope is viewed as an integral part of the letter which stresses end-time trials and suffering which must be the expectation of the eschatological community (cf. 1:6-7). While the image of such testing in the last time (1:5, cf. 1:20, 2:12 et passim) may, indeed, be that of the refining and purifying of precious metal separating it from the dross, this imagery is not actively operative in πύρωσις used metaphorically in 4:12.

A study of the Epistle as a whole suggests that the sectarian writings from Qumran might inform the language and imagery and reveal a "Petrine-Palestinian" tradition within the Epistle. Such a tradition might have been preserved and transmitted by the redactor writing pseudonymously in the early second century, although perhaps lost to him in the connotations it had in the early first century church.

In the church hope for vindication of the elect is in the close context of association of the Christian with Christ's unjust suffering which is bound up also with his glory (vindication and exaltation). The Christian is depicted as living in awareness of the end-time with its final conflict with the

Devil. This situation calls forth not only the need for good conscience and innocent behavior as a member of Christ's community, but also a totally right attitude. Such an attitude includes joyful willingness to suffer, since the basic stance is one of confident expectation of victory even in the face of almost unendurable trial or testing (cf. 1QM xvii.8f.). It is Christ who is the true Shepherd, and the Christian community is exhorted to follow his example.

The fact that this pseudonymous Epistle is attributed to the martyr-apostle Peter lends authority to the writing which is cast at least in part in a modification of a "testament" form. It was Peter who could not watch even for one hour at Gethsemane, and denied his Lord in his Passion. It was Peter for whom Jesus interceded, commanding him to strengthen his brethren after his repentance, and to whom he gave the responsibility for the founding of his church. And it was Peter whom the risen Lord forgave, again enjoining him to feed the flock. In 1 Peter these themes occur as warning from the apostle-martyr to the church and its leaders that they avoid his errors and stand firm (1P 5:10.12) as he himself did when he who first rejected the necessity of his Lord's death shared in it in martyr-discipleship.

There are several demonstrable affinities of ideas in 1 Peter with those of the apocalyptic community of Qumran. In the study of πύρωσις in 1P 4:12 such early traditions were also investigated. The noun, πύρωσις, had a wide range of

meanings in Classical Greek based on a literal association with πυρόω, its verbal antecedent. It is relatively rarely used with a figurative meaning, and even then it is based on some element of heat or fire as, for example, burning desire. In Josephus it is used of the destruction by fire of Sodom and it becomes the paradigm for such punishment by God of the wicked in the end-time. Then, however, the word πύρωσις is not used, but some combination of fire-imagery using πῦρ is employed. In the LXX it is used once in Prv. 27:21 where it translates מצרף (or: כור, with which the Hebrew is parallel) and the context is the testing of men by their reputations. The imagery is that of a smelting furnace or crucible in which precious metals are purified and refined.

The word translated πύρωσις in the LXX is the M.T. מצרף which is parallel to כור and which in Biblical Hebrew means a place of refining or smelting metals used metaphorically. There are two occurrences of מצרף in the M.T. in identical first lines of Prv. 17:3 and 27:21 and they are used metaphorically for the testing of man by other men or by God.

At Qumran מצרף occurs more frequently and it is a sectarian <u>terminus technicus</u> for the time or situation which the community sees as its own: the end-time with the ultimate ordeal before the consummation of the age to come. In this time the elect (= the members of the sect) will be vindicated and saved and the wicked annihilated. Perhaps basically the

image is that which is in the O.T., the figurative use of "furnace" as a place of smelting and refining, but it does not function in the same way, and at Qumran the word has shifted in meaning to "eschatological ordeal". (It is also possible that there are two forms, as it occurs in Qumran as both masculine and feminine.)

It is this shifted, changed meaning that enables מצרף to be seen behind the use of πύρωσις in 1P 4:12. Not the biblical but the Qumran use is the key to understanding the N.T. figurative use of the Greek word πύρωσις, apparently chosen as the most appropriate translation of מצרף. So although the basic understanding of πύρωσις as ordeal is not greatly changed by this study, the method applied to 4:12 making its meaning unambiguously eschatological may also illuminate other passages in 1 Peter. That the <u>fiery</u> aspect of the end-time ordeal is not present (or at least not stressed in 4:12) is best understood from the uses at Qumran of מצרף. That the context is the eschatological crisis is clear both from the Qumran usage and the context in 1P 4:12. The relationship of πύρωσις to πειρασμός is also clarified. There is more of a situational aspect to πύρωσις; and πειρασμός is more descriptive of a feature of that situation. As in Qumran, the early church saw her situation as living in the end of days and the trials, tribulations and persecutions (fiery and otherwise) are simply concomitants to this <u>Sitz im Leben</u>. Thus in the N.T. there are

many and varied πειρασμοί of all degrees of intensity.

It appears, however, that the relative infrequency in the sectarian writings at Qumran of a word equivalent to πειρασμός and its lack of eschatological importance reflect a very high sense of predestination to salvation for the member of the Qumran sect, i.e. to fall in a testing or temptation situation is in the last analysis denied. On the other hand, the ordeal--the situation of eschatological testing--is seen as characteristic of the very time of the sectarian's existence. In the N.T., however, the πειρασμός danger is not theologically mute--either for Jesus and his πειρασμοί or for those of his community--and THE πειρασμός becomes almost identical in 1 Peter with the situation of ultimate πειρασμός--the time of πύρωσις (expressed as מצרף at Qumran). Therefore the "degree of anticipation" in this case would appear higher at Qumran than in the N.T., although N.T. terminology does not clearly differentiate between πύρωσις and πειρασμός in 1 Peter. Such a distinction in terms has probably been lost by the time of the writing/redaction of that Epistle.

If, indeed, πύρωσις in 1P 4:12 reflects the sectarian <u>terminus technicus</u> at Qumran (מצרף), then the appositional phrase, πρὸς πειρασμόν, is not necessary. This may be an indication that although the writer of the Epistle used πύρωσις the term was no longer as self-explanatory as מצרף was at Qumran. The later development (in Justin, for example) shows that

πύρωσις was attentuated to mean sin--the "lowest" level of πειρασμός in the N.T. usage.

This is an instructive example of the development, shift and change in emphasis of a word--indeed, even in meaning. What this suggests in terms of the background of the writer of 1 Peter and his hearers is also helpful in terms of application of the same line of reasoning to other problems in the Epistle. It is postulated that the writer transmitted a tradition going back to a time when some such equation as מצרף / πύρωσις was an easily understood and precise image and that his own time did not hear the word in the same way. His addition of an explanatory appositional phrase, as well as the confusion or non-differentiation of the terms nsywn' and bwḥrn in the Peshitta Syriac version of 1P 4:12 demonstrates the blurring of distinction of the terms πειρασμός and πύρωσις and the eventual flattning out of πύρωσις.

Accordingly, if πύρωσις is understood against its sharpened מצרף meaning at Qumran, 1P 4:12-19 is placed squarely in the eschatological imagery of a community which is conscious of living in the end-time, and the passage can be seen as an admonition in the face of end-time trials or persecution interpreted in apocalytpic terms. The word πύρωσις, similar to ἐπισκοπή (2:12, cf. פקודה at Qumran) denotes the end-time ordeal leading to vindication of the elect.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
THE DIVINITY SCHOOL

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

THESIS ACCEPTANCE CERTIFICATE

The undersigned, appointed by the Committee on Higher Degrees, have examined a thesis entitled

"ΠΥΡΩΣΙΣ and the First Epistle of Peter 4:12"

presented by Emilie T. Sander, candidate for the degree of Doctor of Theology, and hereby certify that it is worthy of acceptance.

Frank M. Cross, Jr.

John Strugnell

Krister Stendahl

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ABBREVIATIONS

ALQ	F. M. Cross, Jr. The Ancient Library of Qumran (1961^2)
BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the O.T.
Brownlee	The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
Carmignac	Les Textes de Qumran I-II
EWQ	Dupont-Sommer (Vermes trans.) The Essene Writings from Qumran
GCS	Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
Holm-Nielsen	Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
K/B	Koehler-Baumgartner Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros
L/S	Liddell-Scott A Greek-English Lexicon
Maier	Die Texte vom Toten Meer I-II
OMG	<u>'ôṣar hammĕgillôt haggĕnûzôt</u> (= Sukenik-Avigad The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University)
Rabin	The Zadokite Documents (1958^2)
Rahlfs	Septuaginta (1935^7)
RB	Revue Biblique
RQ	Revue de Qumran

SBU	Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk I-II (2nd Ed., 1962-1963)
SEÅ	Svensk exegetisk årsbok
SNT	K. Stendahl (ed.) The Scrolls and the N.T.
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SvTKv	Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TWzNT	[= Theol. Wörterb. z. N.T.] G. Kittel et al. (eds.) Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
W-M	Wernberg-Møller The Manual of Discipline
Yadin	The Scroll of the War... (Engl. transl., 1962)
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

INTRODUCTION

The word study of πύρωσις here presented grew out of a study of 1 Peter 4:12-19 as an admonition to steadfastness in the face of persecution. In this introduction we want to supply the reader with the presuppositions which constitute partly the basis for and partly observations made in the process of our investigation.

I. Dating and Authenticity

While the problems of dating and authenticity are not primary and cannot be investigated here in detail, several judgments have been made and are presented in order to provide background for the material which follows. The situation of the Epistle seems to reflect the time and temper of the correspondence of Trajan with Pliny the Younger.[1] Suffering for the name of Christ (4:14) and the use of the term Χριστιανός (4:16), point toward a date in the first quarter of the second century A.D. Such a late date does not preclude reflection of and upon earlier persecution situations and fits both the style and content of the Epistle. The Greek style is good and the addressees appear to be Gentile Christians (1:14, 4:3) portrayed as the New Israel dispersed among the (heathen) Gentiles (1:1, 2:12) on the analogy of the Old Israel, a diaspora among the nations.

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[1]See: J. Knox, "Pliny and 1 Peter: A Note on 1P 4:14-16 and 3:15," JBL72 (1953), 187-89.

The work is pseudonymous, attributed to the apostle Peter (1:1), through Silvanus (5:12) whose name constitutes a part of the pseudepigraphic device which strengthens the authority of Peter as author and the time of writing as the apostolic age. Such pseudonymity is typical of writings of the early second century and points toward a claim that the work is valid in terms of the criteria of the apostolic age: a charismatic message with apostolic authority although actually written or redacted in a later period.[2]

The tradition of Peter's martyr death in 64-67 under Nero in Rome is certainly known to the writer or redactor of 1 Peter in the first quarter of the second century. In 1 Clement 5 (A.D. 96) and the Rainer Fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter[3] there is evidence of Peter's death and the Rainer Fragment may be even earlier than 1 Clement, stressing the eschatological implication of Peter's martyrdom--the beginning of the destruction of the Antichrist starts with Peter's death (cf. 1P 5:8, 4:16f.). In John 21:18-19 the prediction of Peter's martyr death is also accessible to a writer of the early second century. That the tradition of the four gospels was known to the writer can be established both from the time of writing and from allusions in the Epistle which clearly depend on such tradition.

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[2]K. Aland, "The Problem of Anonymity and Pseudonymity in Christian Literature of the First Two Centuries," JTS12 (1961), 39-49.

[3]E. Peterson, "Das Martyrium des hl. Petrus nach der Petrus-Apokalypse," in Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis (1959), pp. 88-91.

Thus Peter, the martyr-apostle gives weight and authenticity to the Epistle which is formed in many ways as a farewell and admonishment to those who follow (cf. the role of Paul in 2 Timothy, note especially 2Tim. 2:1-13). While an Epistle, some of its formal characteristics can be best understood in terms of the "testament" form.[4] This farewell address is for exhortation and witness to the church to stand firm (5:12) not only in persecution--but with persecution viewed as part of the end-time trials which the community must undergo before the in-breaking of the new age (1:6-7, 2:12, 4:7, 4:12-19, 5:10), the revelation of the glory of Jesus Christ. This apocalyptic note is continued in darkness-light imagery (2:9) and particularly with reference to strife in the world with the devil, the adversary (5:8-10). Both in 1P 5:8-11 and 4:12-19 there is assurance concerning the definitive victory of the righteous, the elect, the end-time community--that the coming judgment brings vindication and full revelation of God's glory to the elect. But there is tension between the already and not-yet, and the Christian life (as life in the community

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[4]For descriptions of the "testament form" see: J. Munck, "Discours d'adieu dans le Nouveau Testament et dans la littérature biblique," in Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne [Goguel Festschrift] (1950), pp. 155-70; cf. B. Reicke, "A Synopsis of Early Christian Preaching," in A. Fridrichsen et al, The Root of the Vine (1953), pp. 153-55; E. Stauffer, Appendix VI: Valedictions and Farewell Speeches, in N.T. Theology (1956), pp. 344-47; K. Baltzer, Das Bundesformular (1960); and D. Georgi, "Philippians 3,2ff.," paper read at Harvard Divinity School (Fall, 1964).

of Qumran) is the battleground of the strife. Such strife may include actual times of persecution. This is to be faced as is known from the tradition of the Gospels with the conviction of eventual victory because of the event of the triumphant vindication of Jesus Christ after his passion and death. Yet the "temptations", the trials, the ordeal involved in the end-time situation are more than man can stand by himself and even the righteous may fall away in the end-time (Matt. 24:12, cf. 1P 4:18 in another form) except that it is shortened by God's grace lest no one be saved (Matt. 24:22, cf. 1Cor. 10:13). Such apocalyptic ideas are the climate of thought of 1 Peter.

II. 1 Peter: A "Testament"

The "testament" form in the N.T. has a long pre-history in the O.T. and Intertestamental literature. The general structure is that of a farewell address of an elder or leader or patriarch who, as his death approaches, calls his family or spiritual sons around him, reviews his life--including his failures--tells of God's gracious acts toward him, warns by his own example and suggests counter-virtues for any vices. In some cases such "testaments" include accounts of trials to come, apocalyptic predictions and may thus have eschatological overtones. Such a mixture of wisdom material (paraenesis, exhortation) and apocalyptic can be seen throughout 1 Peter (cf. 2 Timothy, Didache--noting the eschatological appendix in chapter 16).

There are a number of elements which contribute to seeing in 1 Peter at least some signs of a "testament" form:

It was Peter who, after confessing Christ at Caesarea Philippi denied that Christ must suffer (Mk. 8:32f., Mt. 16:22f.). The Lord rebuked him and called him Satan. The Epistle is from one known not only to have learned the necessity of Jesus' suffering and death but that suffering (and even a martyr-death in his own case) is the way of discipleship. (In Mark and Matthew the crossbearing saying is also part of the Peter pericope--Mk. 8:34f., Mt. 16:24f.). The Epistle has suffering--indeed in joy--as a steady theme (1P 1:6-9, 2:20-24, 3:14.17f., 4:12-19, 5:1.9f.).

In Lk. 22:31-34 Peter's denial is prophesied and Jesus promises to intercede for him that when he repents of the denial he will strengthen (στηρίζω) his brothers (cf. 1P 5:10 and 12--the avowed purpose of the Epistle). In Mark and Matthew the defection of the apostles is foretold in terms of the scattering of sheep when the shepherd is stricken (Mk. 14:26f., Mt. 26:30ff.), a reflection of Zech. 13:7. Indeed Peter does deny his Lord (Mk. 14:72 and par.) and in John 21:15-17 the risen Lord parallels his threefold denial with a threefold question as to Peter's love. At each affirmation the Lord responds with the forgiving command to feed the sheep or lambs, the flock as the community. The shepherd imagery and care of the flock is a central motif in 1 Peter (2:25, 5:2ff.; cf. Acts 20:17-38--Paul's farewell discourse at Miletus in which he, too, exhorts

the elders to vigilance in shepherding the flock). This image is poignant in 1 Peter against the background of denial, repentance, and forgiveness of Peter and the specific charge to feed the sheep. Such a charge concerning nourishing of the flock may be found in other "farewell" or "testament" addresses, but here it specifically reflects traditions about Peter, his denial (sin) attributed by Luke and Matthew to Satan's influence and his subsequent repentance and task. This is a typical situation in a "testament".

Immediately following the charge to Peter in John is the prediction of his own martyr death (Jn. 21:18-19)[5] and in 1P the church is urgently admonished to accept trials as not strange since they are a share in the suffering of Christ (4:12f.).

In the Garden of Gethsemane (Mk. 14:37f., Mt. 26:40f.) it is Peter in particular who is rebuked that he could not watch (γρηγορέω) and in 1 Peter the church is admonished to watch and be vigilant against the Devil (5:8). In the same pericope prayer against temptation (πειρασμός) is stressed (cf. 1P 4:12).

In the Matthean account it is Peter who is delegated to build the church and in 1 Peter it is the chief apostle who points to Christ as Shepherd and Bishop who through his suffering

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[5]Although the verbs of "girding" are not the same compare Jn. 22--ζώννυμι --and 1P 5:5--ἐγκομβόομαι.

collected the wandering sheep to himself (2:25). In like manner--on the model of the Lord and probably also Peter--the elders are exhorted to feed their flocks humbly and to serve them faithfully (5:1-3). In this role Peter almost failed.[6] Thus Peter the apostle denied not only his Lord but the need of that Lord to suffer and, in typical "testament" form, he repents according to the tradition and dies witnessing to his faith and enjoining his addressees not to repeat his sin but to do better. This martyr apostle is depicted in 1 Peter as enjoining the flock that suffering is indeed the lot of the community as it was the lot of the Lord and he is shown admonishing, strengthening and nourishing them to be able to stand and stand in joy before this because of the victory promised through Jesus Christ.

It has been noted that early "martyr-acts" in the church also reflect a "testament" form.[7] Could not the pseudepigraphic device of having this Epistle in the name of the martyr-apostle Peter (and 2 Timothy in the name of Paul) be a step along the way to such a development?

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[6]Is it possible that that is why in the list of punishable offenses of which a Christian must be found innocent (4:15) that after the obvious ones: murder, theft and evil-doing in general one other is added, with a very special meaning in the context of 1P as a farewell-testament--the ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος? Could this be simply an unfaithful shepherd or bishop--which would epitomize the failure in duty of a Christian leader--one who instead of looking toward Christ the bishop and shepherd, leads the flock astray to the "lot" of Satan?

[7]Reicke, "...Early Christian Preaching," op. cit., p. 155.

It is seen, then, that according to gospel tradition Peter was entrusted with the office of strengthening and encouraging the church, particularly in her vocation of suffering discipleship on the analogy of Jesus' passion and death in innocence (cf. 1P 2:21f.). It would then follow in the farewell message of an apostle also thought of as a martyr that the exhortation to the community is to share also in the vocation of innocent suffering--particularly in the case of leaders but also for the whole church. To be a Christian is, then, to be innocent--to have a good conscience (3:16)--and to endure suffering patiently. An eschatological note is also seen in that such innocent suffering is in order that judgment, the last days, may come--beginning with the Church (4:17). Such function or office according to 1 Peter, is to be the opposite of κακοποιός (2:12, 4:15); and ἀγαθοποιΐα (4:19) and ἀγαθοποιός (2:14) might be the Christian stance (particularly in suffering or persecution): not only by "doing" good but by being innocent, blameless and just (cf. T. Iss. 5 re: ἀκακία; 1QS ix.21ff.,[8] and 1QM xvii.8-9[9]). Further to strengthen this argument the faith of the Christian in the trials of the end-time is to be proved (δοκιμάζω, 1P 1:7--possibly in τὸ δοκίμιον) and found δόκιμος--and this word had been used in the sense of being tested or tried and found worthy of office (Lysias 16:3,

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[8]See: K. Stendahl, "Hate, Non-Retaliation, and Love. 1QS x.17-20 and Romans 12:19-21," HTR55 (1962), p. 349. Cf. 1P 4:12-19.

[9]See below, pp. 32f.

Plato, Lg. 759d., Aristotle, Ath. 45:3).

Eppel notes that one recurrent them in the piety of Jewish Testament material in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is that of being a witness (as Daniel in the lions' den or the three young men in the fiery furnace) to the Gentiles concerning the truth of the faith of the Jews. T. Naph. 8:4: If you work that which is good...men and angels shall bless you: and God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you.[10] In 1 Peter the example of good works of the Christians is also "that observing [the Gentiles] may glorify God in a day of visitation" (2:12).

Finally, 1 Peter seen as a "testament" is in itself apocalyptic "witness" and with its admixture of paraenesis, example and general address to the faithful-elect living in the diaspora as sojourners,[11] it constitutes with the authority of its martyred author authority and strength for the church in the persecution of the world (5:9).

III. Methodological Considerations

Recognition in the pseudepigraphic First Epistle of Peter of an underlying "testament" form strengthens the case for seeing within and behind the material redacted a tradition that goes not only back into the Gospels but also into a form which

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[10] R. Eppel, Le piétisme juif dans les Testaments des douze Patriarches (1930), p. 145.

[11] Cf. C. Andresen, "Zum Formular frühchristlicher Gemeindebriefe," ZNW56 (1965), 233-59.

reflects the Intertestamental period. It is postulated that this may indicate at least at some level use of old traditions, possibly going back indeed to the apostolic age and reflecting a "Jerusalem-Petrine" tradition of which the redactor makes some use, but which in the course of time and changes of circumstances of the Sitz im Leben no longer may even be recognized as such. Clearly the church of the Catholic epistles has moved into the Hellenistic Gentile world. The term ἔθνη has come to mean "pagan". Stendahl's analysis of the place of the Gospel of Matthew in the development of early Christianity can be applied to 1 Peter. Stendahl calls the Gospel of Matthew a "complexio oppositorum"--a Greek original with striking features of Jewish exegesis of a Qumran type. The Hellenistic Matthean church made its peace with its Jewish heritage. It is seen as a Gentile-Christian church which took over the ideas of a Semitic matrix with its methods of argumentation without differentiating sharply or in a conflicted manner between the Jewish and Hellenistic elements. The transition was smooth. This or something like it was the prevailing mood in much of the early church. Stendahl includes 1 Peter and the Didache among these works. The Gospel of Matthew found a viable way to live with its Jewish heritage in a Hellenistic world and with a Gentile constituency so as to preserve a more comprehensible amount of tradition than any of the other gospels.[12]

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[12]Stendahl, "The Place of the Matthean Gospel in the Development of Early Christianity," paper read at the International N.T. Congress, Oxford (Sept., 1965).

So, too, in 1 Peter there are traditions from an early Palestinian milieu preserved not only in the presence of a "testament" form but also in the background of thought and language used. The word study of πύρωσις will show that the underlying background of the term may be found at Qumran in מצרף as a sectarian terminus technicus, while the later redactor using a Greek translation of the term may not himself have been aware of this background. He therefore did not find the term self-explanatory and his Gentile Christian readers would also not recognize an eschatological sectarian terminus technicus behind πύρωσις, the word apparently found most suitable or appropriate at some stage of transmission and translation for a word מצרף which might have been borrowed by the early Christian-Jewish community in its eschatological fervor. Thus πύρωσις cannot stand by itself and must be explained by an appositional phrase πρὸς πειρασμόν in 1 Peter (and τῆς δοκιμασίας in Did. 16:5). As a result, the redactor and readers and subsequent translators of the early versions of 1 Peter did not clearly differentiate between πύρωσις and πειρασμός. Once, however, a link is seen between the ancient tradition incorporated--perhaps even reflecting the thought of the eschatological community at Qumran--and the present redaction, it is possible to open the way to other ways in which the material from Qumran may inform the study of 1 Peter.

IV. 1 Peter and Qumran

Some of the affinities of the conceptual climate of Qumran and post-biblical apocalyptic Judaism with 1 Peter are: The dispersion of the Jews among the Gentiles as an apocalyptic theme, as is the separation of the elect group into a place (the desert) where they sojourn until the end of days, is one such theme. 1 Peter also uses this image: the Christian community are exiles (1:1) and the O.T. biblical term is reapplied to the church in the unbelieving (Gentile) world. As in Matthew the Pharisees are the unbeliving Jews in general, so in 1 Peter the Gentiles are not the Gentile-Christians but Gentile heathendom (1P 2:12, 4:3).

1P 1:5 contains a theme also found at Qumran: the community is that of the last time (cf. 1QS iv.16f.) and the time of visitation and judgment is also found in 1P 4:12f. and 4:17.

That even the prophets did not really know what was foreordained--and perhaps not even the angels--until it is revealed to the elect people of the end-time is similar to Qumran (1QpHab. vii.4f.; cf. 1P 1:11f.).

In 1P 2:4-9 and 1QS viii.5-8 there is similar use of Is. 28:16: the true new Israel is the community of the end of days and the building, the eschatological temple, is the image with the chosen stone democratized from a purely messianic application to the members of the community of the messiah.[13] This

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[13]Cf. F. M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies: The Haskell Lectures 1956-57 (1961^2), p. 232 and n.79.

may go through an intermediary stage in which the leaders of the community have the prime function and responsibility first but such function is clearly shared by the whole community. This would explain both at Qumran and in 1P 5.1ff: the special stress on the responsibility and purity of leaders of the community.

Shepherd imagery is common in all Jewish post-biblical apocalyptic writing as well as in the O.T. apocalypses (especially Zechariah) and while it is not so common at Qumran (but see CD xiii.7-12 and 4QDibHam iv) the good shepherd as opposed to the false or bad shepherd is an important theme in 1P: 2:25, 5:1ff. and possibly 4:15 (ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος).

In 1P 2:9 the darkness-light dualism so frequently used at Qumran seems to be alluded to. The cosmic dualism of the devil and the forces of God are also clearly depicted in 1P 5:8.

It is also possible that in 1P 5:3 κλήροι could be a reflection--particularly in its context of leaders leading the community to the chief (good) shepherd and of false leaders--of the idea in 1QS iii of the two spirits and two lots. Although גורל is not used in the plural in this sense at Qumran, it is not at all impossible that the idea has been transferred in the Greek in the plural.

Such affinities simply demonstrate a similarity of apocalyptic thought, expectation and expression at some early level of the tradition underlying 1 Peter and perhaps connected with

him and the movement within which he lived and believed--a tradition similar to that of the thought world of post-biblical Judaism, particularly of Qumran--which permeates 1 Peter but which perhaps had lost its own specific conscious meaning by the time the redactor had incorporated it into the Epistle in the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., but which still exerts influence upon the material if it is to be exegeted in terms of its background-tradition as well as can be done with the help of Qumran and intertestamental writings which have preserved that level of thought.

Based on these observations concerning the nature and form of the first Epistle of Peter, exegesis of 4:12-19 may be sketched. The word study of πύρωσις differentiating it from πειρασμός as well as use of post-biblical pre-Christian and early Jewish-Christian ideas allows new clarity in such exegesis.

V. Preliminary Observations toward an Exegesis of 1 Peter 4:12-19

The exegesis of 1P 4:12-19 presupposes that there is an actual and external situation of persecution which acts as a catalyst for an interpretation of such persecution as apocalyptic in nature.

The use of the specific example of the suffering of Christ in relationship to the attitudes in the church (as much as to actual activities) as well as the example of the victory of Christ and the glory to be revealed (in whatever terms this

is expressed or implied, be it resurrection, exaltation, session at the right hand of God, etc.) shape these attitudes (the stance which the Christian is exhorted to take) and the expectations thereunto appended.

Subsidiary themes and images clarify this argument. They point backward in time through O.T. citations and allusions and to Intertestamental material (including the influence of Qumran) to show their meaning for the writer of the epistle and for those to whom he addresses himself. There are, of course, themes and imagery (particularly when they are organized about the person and figure of Jesus Christ) which differentiate between a use in 1 Peter and in the N.T. and prior pre- or non-Christian uses.

While 1 Peter 4:12-19 is part of a larger unit (4:12-5:11) and while reference will be made to the unit as a whole, the detailed exegesis can be confined to 4:12-19 with additional reference as needed. There is a clear structural break at 4:11 with its doxology and "amen"--but, as will be demonstrated below, such a structural break does not interfere either with the unity of the epistle or with the basic similarity of content with what precedes and follows 4:11. Similarly, before the ending and final greetings of the epistle there is another doxology and "amen" at 5:11. The whole unit (4:12-5:11) will be considered but the main problems under investigation fall within the limits of 4:12-19.

The apocalyptic thrust may be seen in terms of πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόν (4:12); judgment (4:17); a joyful attitude in the face of end-time trials (4:13) and the implications of a cosmic struggle (4:12, cf. 5:8ff.).

1P 4:12-19 continues the admixture of "practical paraenesis" with exhortation which is less related to immediate concerns--an admixture which is typical of the epistle as a whole--and is also expected in a testament form. It shows, in addition, unity of purpose of the epistle and similarity with, e.g., the Didache with its apocalyptic appendix in Chapter 16.

In 4:12 it is the church which is addressed as ἀγαπητοί. As Selwyn points out, such address in the vocative followed by a verb of admonition may be one of the characteristic elements of passages handed down by tradition and used in the setting of particular exhortation to vigilance (cf. 1Thess. 5:1.4f., Jas. 5:7f.) and endurance in persecution (cf. 2Thess. 2:1.15, Jas. 1:2-4).[14]

Bornkamm notes the connection of false teachers and prophets with the events of the end-time in O.T. and intertestamental apocalyptic and the ending of Christian edifying literature on a note of warning against such false teaching.[15] Both in the admonitions in 1 Peter in ch. 5 to presbyter/bishops and possibly also in relation to the interpretation of

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[14]E. G. Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Essays (1947[2]), in Essay II, 3: Traces of a Persecution Form, p. 388.

[15]G. Bornkamm, Die Vorgeschichte des so-genannten Zweiten Korintherbriefes (1961).

the difficult hapax legomenon ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος (4:15). These observations support the premise presented.

From the point of view of language, style, and distribution of hapax legomena 4:12-19 (or 4:12-5:11) does not represent a break or disunity with the rest of the epistle. This will be pointed out first from an examination of the language and thought of the epistle as a whole compared with 4:12-19 (as, for example, the theme of 1:6f.: λυπηθέντες ἐν πειρασμοῖς... διὰ πυρός...which is continued on to the end of the letter; and the fact that an examination of the frequency and distribution of the hapax legomena reveals no significant difference in 4:12-19 (or: 4:12-5:11) that would be statistically reliable or valid.

A comparison of the relationship of 1P 4:12-19 to the letter as a whole and the relationship of Did. 16 to the whole Didache also points toward 1 Peter 4:12-19 having a specific function in the letter rather than its being something foreign to it or emphasizing a completely new point of view. In both, admonitions are phrased in apocalyptic terms for the end-time; in both this is preceded by otherwise instructional (didactic, catechetical, etc.) material and in both these two types of material are intermingled. Did. 16 is apocalyptic and paraenetic: v.2: perfected in the last time v.3: warning about false prophets (in any case associated with the end-time and perhaps also paralleled not only by 1 Peter 5:2ff. but also by ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος).

The similarities of 1 Peter 4:12-5:14 with the language and imagery of the Book of Revelation should also be noted: Babylon = Rome;[16] there is stress on judgment; there is cosmic warfare with Satan-devil-adversary imagery.

(It is intriguing to speculate on another apocalyptic passage--within Zech 9-14. Especially in ch. 11 and in 13:7-9 there is shepherd imagery, the scattered flock, the little ones, the refining fire, a bad shepherd and a final statement that the Lord is God. How the early church used this is not entirely clear although there is evidence within Gospel material, as in Matthew--but it seems to contain within itself, particularly as read in Greek, a little history of salvation.)

It would appear that the nearer one came to "pure revelation-apocalyptic" language the nearer the situation producing it is a situation of persecution interpreted in terms of the end-time. Perhaps actual persecution is only a catalytic agent along with the speculation as to its meaning in terms of cosmic dualism and conflict.

Text: While there are many textual variants which were collated from Tischendorf,,[17] von Soden,[18] P^{72},[19] etc. for 4:12-19,

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[16]Cf. Andresen, op. cit., p. 243.

[17]C. Tischendorf (ed.), Novum Testamentum Graece. Editio octava critica maior, Vol. II (1872), ad loc.

[18]H. von Soden (ed.), Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, II (1913), ad loc.

[19]See below, p. 52, notes 97 and 99.

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the Nestle (Nestle-Aland, 25th ed.)[20] text will be accepted. The evidence of other readings (as the syr^{pesh}) are useful not for the choice of a basic text but rather for the important light they shed on the history and course of exegesis of the text.

In 4:14 καὶ δυνάμεως is rejected although well attested as it probably reflects a liturgical accretion in what is already liturgical language (vs. Beare),[21] cf. 1Chr. 29:11.12; Mt. 6:13 v.l.; Did. 8:2, 9:4, 10:5; Rev. 4:11,7:12 and 19:1.

In 4:15 the number of variants for ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος as well as its omission from syr^{pesh} is an indication of the difficulty found in interpreting this hapax legomenon which occurs nowhere else in classical, biblical or patristic literature until Epiphanius (where it reflects 1 Peter).

In 4:19 the singular ἀγαθοποιΐᾳ is to be preferred to the plural on exegetical grounds to be demonstrated.

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[20] Erw. Nestle - K. Aland - Eb. Nestle (eds.), Novum Testamentum Graece (25th ed., 1963), ad loc.

[21] In these preliminary observations no secondary references to commentaries will be noted except where there is marked agreement or disagreement on a particular point or passage. Of the many commentaries on 1 Peter, only the following will be mentioned:

F. W. Beare, The First Epistle of Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes (1958^2).

C. Bigg, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude [= I.C.C.] (1902^2).

P. U. Holzmeister, Epistula prima S. Petri Apostoli: Commentarius in Epistulas SS. Petri et Iudae Apostolorum, Pars I [= Cursus Scripturae Sacrae] (1937).

E. G. Selwyn, op. cit.

Exegetical Observations:

ἀγαπητοί: The vocative address, "beloved" followed by an imperative verb is often a combination found in an exhortation, particularly in time of trouble. It is common in "testament" material and Selwyn sees it common in a "persecution form".[22] (While Selwyn no doubt made advances in the application of form-criticism to epistles, he is to be criticized because of the brevity of his examples--sometimes only a few words and because of relative isolation from the larger context.) Taken with other factors there is evidence which points to the persecution situation and which fits the "form" of a "testament-farewell" hortatory address.

Persecution may be actual hostility in the hostile acts of a rejecting audience or a punishing authority. It may be the hostility inherent in the situation of the Christian in a world hostile to both the message and the messenger of God. There is the possibility of a sort of "internalized" persecution when outer pressure on a group is no longer being brought to bear. (This does not seem to apply in 1 Peter.) And there is persecution seen in terms of the trials, woes and tribulation associated with the coming judgment and/or end-time--with the final bringing in of the Kingdom. The choices are not mutually exclusive and actual persecution as well as the general hostility of the "world" are only quantitative

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[22]Selwyn, op. cit., pp. 439-58 (in Essay II).

differences of the amount of persecution both of which may be interpreted as part of the end-time situation.

The verb, ξενίζω, occurs twice in 1 Peter and in both 4:4 and 4:12 it has the meaning of being surprised or amazed. There is a certain heightening of the element of surprise and strangeness in 4:12 by the addition of ξενός which carries with it the idea of that which is strange, foreign, alien or unexpected. It is possible that the writer had to stress as a part of his teaching the fact that suffering is to be expected by a Christian. While this is abundantly clear from the gospel material and from Paul's letters and is a perennial theme in apocalyptic, the early Church apparently needed to be reminded that suffering would be an immediate and even constant part of life. The use of these words that express surprise may also refer to some sudden event which must be taken into consideration, such as a particular outbreak of an actual persecution. Even if this be the case, however, the persecution itself might simply be a catalyst for a new understanding that to be a Christian means enduring not only persecution but persecution which is a part of the general expectation of the woes to come before the final consummation.

As will be seen in the thesis proper, πώρωσις is an eschatological term denoting the end-time trial or ordeal which is expected before the final consummation and revelation of glory. This πώρωσις is for the testing of the church and the vindication of the elect. Thus the situation of πώρωσις has a πειρασμός character.

Joy is possible in suffering <u>because</u> (καθό) the sufferings and subsequent glorification--whether in terms of resurrection, ascension, session at the right hand of God, or some other form of victory--of Christ is shared. There is close dependence on Matt. 5:11-12 in this verse. Nauck points to the fact that joy in suffering is not only a Christian phenomenon, but has its counterpart particularly in post-biblical Jewish material of the Intertestamental period, particularly of the apocalyptic type. Nauck writes "...hier eine gemeinsame spätjüdisch-urchristliche Tradition über die Freude angesichts des Leidens vorliegt. Die entscheidende Wendung in der urchristlichen Tradition gegenüber der spätjüdischen Tradition liegt einmal in der Gegenwärtigkeit des Heilszuspruches: jetzt ist die Zeit des Heils, und zum anderen in der Gebundenheit des Leidens an die Person Jesu: wer um seinetwillen leidet, ist selig. ...Die Freude des Christen im Leiden ist nicht nur eine Freude auf den Lohn, der nach dem Leiden bevorsteht, sondern sie ist eine Freude über das im Glauben an Christus empfangene Heil, in dem der zukünftige Lohn bereits gegenwärtig ist."[23]

It should also be noted that the Christian material makes appeal explicitly or implicitly to Jesus Christ and the fact that he is the example (cf. 1P 2:21, ὑπογραμμός) to be followed.

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[23]W. Nauck, "Freude im Leiden: Zum Problem einer urchristlichen Verfolgungstradition," ZNW46 (1955), 68-80 (particularly pp. 76f.).

Use of gospel material: There is clear awareness in 1 Peter of gospel material both in quotation and allusion. In interpretation of allusions, the content of the gospel from which it is taken or of which it is a reflection must also be considered. Thus, for example, in 1P 4:14 to be reproached (ὀνειδίζεσθε) is considered by some commentators to be a minor inconvenience or harsh words. The gospel reference in 4:14 (cf. 4:13) is rather to Matt. 5:11 (cf. Lk. 6:22) which carries the weight of the idea of rejoicing in the midst of persecution for the sake of Jesus. (The gospel according to Matthew seems to be closest to 1 Peter, perhaps pointing again to a "Petrine" emphasis. Cf. Matt. 5:10 and 1P 3:14). The verb ὀνειδίζω also suggests to a reader steeped in gospel tradition the full weight of Mark 15:32 (Matt. 27:44; cf. 1 Clement 16:15 and Psalm 21:6-8 [LXX] and the variant reading in the D text of Mark 15:34). In Psalm 22 in Hebrew the word חרפה (root: חרף) occurs and in Hebrew this is a very strong term: taunt, reproach, contumely, etc. These references are to the reviling of Jesus in the context of his passion and ὀνειδίζω is heavy and serious when applied to Jesus' disciples. The context of 1 Peter 4:12-19 makes it abundantly clear that such "reproach" is more than mere reviling, since the question under discussion is an ordeal of the end-time endured through the example of Christ's passion.

ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ is a use only found here in the N.T.

and would appear to point ahead to vv. 15-16, where to be a Χριστιανός is also to suffer for <u>that name</u>=Christian=Christ. Similarly in verse 16 <u>to be ashamed</u> (αἰσχύνομαι) is not some blushing emotion but carries with it the grave connotation of the gospel passages or that behind the gospels which makes the taking of a position, a stance, toward Jesus determinative of being accepted or not accepted in the end-time situation of judgment (cf. Mk. 8:38 ἐπαισχύνομαι par. Lk. 9:26; cf. Rom. 1:16). This observation appears to be borne out by the reference to judgment (κρίμα) in 4:17.

<u>In v. 13</u> ἀποκάλυψις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ requires special investigation. It is associated consistently in 1 Peter with the suffering of Christ (1:7.11, 5:1.10) and his victory over it. Precisely how this victory is understood is not spelled out. Since, however, the community addressed is addressed as Christians, there must be awareness of the kerygma as preached to them, which is specifically referred to in terms of resurrection (1:3) and salvation; raised and glorified (1:21, 3:18. 21f.). These expressions may be in hymnic, doxological, or creedal formulations, but it seems apparent that there is an expression of victory, no matter in what form it is visualized.

<u>In v. 14</u> the reference to the <u>glorious Spirit of God</u> may, perhaps, be linked with such passages as Matt. 10:19f. and reflect the idea that in a situation of persecution or severe trial the Spirit will enable the disciple to stand, to make his

defense and to endure to the end. The quotation of Isaiah 11:2 is Septuagintal with what is perhaps a significant change: in 1 Peter 4:14 ἀναπαύεται is in the present tense, while the LXX is the future. This may show a freedom in handling quotations according to the particular need and understanding of the situation. The use of the present tense in 4:14 might underscore the present assurance of the presence of the Spirit. (There are variants--e.g. 33,88,623,808 et al.--in the perfect tense which, although they are not the best manuscript witnesses also move in a direction of making the presence of the Spirit a current reality.) But caution must be applied in such an observation as another explanation may well be the presence of a Hebrew text which underlies the translation which is different from those now known.

4:15 appears to be an admonition to the Christian that he be without blame as far as sin is concerned--without offense, which is either legally punishable in a civil court or which would be against the ordinary standards of right behavior expected of all Christians qua Christians. How this verse is to be interpreted depends to some extent on an interpretation of a hapax legomenon, ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος, a word coined by the writer, since it appears neither in classical, biblical nor patristic Greek until Epiphanius (and in Epiphanius its occurrence probably reflects knowledge of and reflection on the use of this word in 1 Peter).

ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος: In the 105 verses (ca. 1716 words) of 1 Peter there are 60 hapax legomena of which four are used twice. Thus there are 64 hapax legomena in the Epistle. The frequency distribution cannot be determined either for 4:12-19 or 4:12-5:11 with any accuracy at all as the sample is too small to be statistically significant. What can be noted, however, is that of the 64, 36 occur as simple compound nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs. Of these compounds 17 occur in the LXX, 3 occur in another Greek O.T. and only 3 do not occur in the O.T., classical Greek or the papyri. These are: αἰσχροκερδῶς (clearly αἰσχρός, shameful, base + κέρδος, gain; αἰσχροκερδής occurs in Classical Greek, Philo and T XII P.), συνεκλεκτός (an obvious construct with συν- which is frequently used to stress unity and participation of the community) and ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος. Yet the translations of ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος are traditionally labored and depend not on a simple compound meaning of ἀλλότριος and ἐπίσκοπος but on some verbal meaning of ἐπισκοπέω. Thus, for example, ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος has been taken to mean an informer (one who looks at what other people do to report it), a grafter (one who poorly administers the goods of others entrusted to him for his own benefit), a covetous person (one who seeks the property of others) or--most commonly--a busybody or meddler (one who pries into the affairs of others).[24]

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[24]For a summary of meanings and literature on ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος see: W. Bauer (ed.), A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament

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None of these interpretations is clear and none fits the context of 4:15. Bauer's Lexicon gives ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος as "a word whose meaning has not yet been determined with certainty."[25] Yet the word must refer to something punishable by either civil or church discipline. An informer might be harmful to the church but to the state would be welcome--but ἐπισκοπέω in no way can be taken to mean accuse or inform. It is tempting to ask with Holzmeister why an obscure word is used to designate something clearly meant.[26] It is also unclear why the word is not treated as the rest of the composite hapax legomena in 1 Peter--ἀλλότριος as an adjective meaning foreign or alien and ἐπίσκοπος having the same meaning that it has in 2:25, a bishop.

If the meaning busybody or meddler in the affairs of others is used, this is hardly an offense equal in weight either to the others mentioned in the verse or to a summary of them.

Textual criticism yields little help. The form ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος is found in some manuscripts but Koine Greek often neglects euphony for the sake of etymological clarity[27] and the best

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and Other Early Christian Literature (English translation by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich of Bauer's fourth edition, 1952; 1957), s.v. G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, Fasc. 1 (1961) gives "busybody in other men's affairs" as the meaning and notes the Epiphanius references.

[25] Bauer, op. cit., s.v.

[26] Holzmeister, op. cit., p. 386.

[27] See F. Blass - A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (a translation

reading is taken as ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος. It is tentatively suggested that this reading may be more nominal[28] but the difference in Koine Greek does not seem great and there are other examples of such compounds being used in both forms. More significant is the fact that many witnesses, particularly relatively late ones experiment with a division of the word into its adjectival and nominal parts. The syr^{pesh} omits it and the syr^{phil} restores it literally but without interpretation by transliterating ἐπίσκοπος into Syriac letters and using the Syriac adjective for strange or foreign with it. Such omissions and attempts at splitting the word would appear to reflect perplexity from a relatively early time concerning the word.

Attempts to find parallels draw upon two methods, neither of which seems satisfactory. First, papyri of approximately the same period are used to demonstrate other simple composite words as μελλοέφηβος (or μελλέφηβος) in P.Oxy. IX, 1202[17]--one who is about to become an ephebus, i.e. near puberty--in an early 3rd Century A.D. papyrus. Secondly, parallel constructions are sought as: οὔτε εἰμὶ ἄδικος οὔτε ἀ[λ]λοτρίων ἐπιθυμητής in BU 531 ii.22 (Fayyum, 2nd Century A.D.) where the compound

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and revision of the ninth-tenth German edition incorporating supplementary notes of A. Debrunner, by R. W. Funk; 1961), section 124.

[28]Ibid., section 119:1.

ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος is seen to have a synonym in ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμητής which then becomes intelligible by comparison with ἄδικος. Such parallels seem forced and no meaning of the word given seems to preserve both an adjectival and substantival element in ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος.

There is, indeed, a good Greek word for "meddlesome" (a meaning greatly in favor for ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος)--ἀλλοτριοπράγμων, the adjective from which some noun could be formed.

Without going into the long history of the interpretation of the word ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος (which can be divided into the two categories mentioned), a new and simpler explanation is suggested. In 1 Peter both the concept and term ἐπίσκοπος are stressed (2:25 ἐπίσκοπος and 5:2 where the idea of the duty of a leader of the congregation to be pure is put in terms of ποιμάνατε with a good possibility that the variant reading supported by P^{72}, ἐπισκοποῦντες, may be acceptable). In the second and fifth chapters this is a basic theme. Why therefore can ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος not simply be split into its obvious elements as is the case with the other composite <u>hapax Legomena</u> in 1 Peter? The shepherd imagery in John 10 supports the idea and Jn. 10:5 speaks of a stranger (ἀλλότριος) who should not be followed but from whom the sheep should flee. It is therefore suggested that in 1P 4:15 the first three terms be taken to mean civil and/or religious wrongdoing put in descending order and summed up by κακοποιός and then, separated

by a new start, ἢ ὡς, another category--the most basic wrong-doing in the Epistle; non-innocence or a wrong stance in being not a pure leader but an alien or wrong bishop, i.e. one who leads the flock not to the true shepherd, Christ, but to the lot of the devil.

At first it may be necessary to leave the meaning of ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος open--or even (as does the Syriac) in perplexity simply omit it. It may be well, too, to leave the question of punctuation and the end of the sentence 4:15f. open until either a choice of meaning can be made for ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος or it is assumed that one of the traditional meanings will at least tentatively be accepted. It has been suggested by Prof. Stendahl that ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος may be an interpolation, a later gloss which found its way in under a particular set of circumstances in the early Church. From the warnings and admonitions concerning presbyters in 5:1ff. and the obvious contrast of bad leaders to the chief Shepherd (5:4, cf. 2:25), there is adequate evidence that already at the time of writing of 1 Peter there was some situation warranting such warnings and contrasts. The fact that omission would result in a shorter reading and that the series of terms in 4:15 <u>is</u> peculiar might support the idea of an interpolation. But, since the later circumstances which would evoke a gloss do not seem clear, and since reason can be demonstrated in the Epistle itself, the basis for such a gloss appears weak, and this

manner of dealing with the difficulty is rejected at this time.

Leaving aside the ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος problem, the Christian qua Christian is enjoined not to be punished as a φονεύς, a κλέπτης, or a κακοποιός. Are these terms in descending order of severity of crime? Do they, perhaps, follow the order of the Ten Commandments or some known list of vices (and if this is so, is it possible that ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος carries with it a meaning of false witness)? Is κακοποιός the term for "criminal" in general, and does it then simply sum up the two preceding terms and include all the rest of a list of crimes (of descending order)? Or does it occur as the corrolate of ἀγαθοποιός (2:14) as it does in 2:12? If it is assumed from the use in ch. 2 that κακοποιός is a general term, summing up or characterizing all offenses--particularly those punishable in a civil court--then the meaning of ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος might be sought in a different direction, particularly because of the repetition of the ὡς which might indicate either still another summation of the three preceding terms or a term with the meaning of some offense which would be evil specifically for a Christian and which would merit inclusion in this chapter of admonition in the face of persecution sharpened by an apocalyptic setting. Thus, ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος could simply mean a false or alien bishop, or overseer of some sort, (a "bad shepherd"), i.e., one who leads the flock of Christ astray, indeed

in the direction of the Devil. The warnings about the wrong kinds of bishops and elders in 5:1ff. as compared with Christ, the chief shepherd in 5:4, particularly in the light of his being termed shepherd and bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) in 2:25, lends some weight to this argument. Here the longer reading in 5:2, ἐπισκοποῦντες, found in P^{72} also supports reference to some leader-shepherd image which runs through 1 Peter, as indeed in many apocalyptic passages (cf. Zech. 11:15.17). Such interpretation does not depend on this longer reading, since ποιμάνετε in 5:2 can be read in the same context of ideas. Is it perhaps significant that John 21:16 depicts Peter, being restored as a "good shepherd", and enjoined to ποίμαινε τὰ προβάτία μου? As was noted above, this observation also fits a "testament form": the repentant Peter enjoining those who come after him to avoid his error and stand fast. That this is followed in Jn. 21 by a prediction of Peter's martyrdom is also significant. (Cf. Luke 22:31ff.) (He who had at first rejected the necessity of his master's death must share in it in discipleship.) It might also serve the argument to recall John 10:5 in which the "bad shepherd" is called a stranger, ἀλλότριος.

If such a double summary is possible: guilt under legal/civil action on the one hand--κακοποιός--and guilt as a Christian in ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος, then the ἢ ὡς serves to distinguish between these two types of evil, either of which would tend to destroy the good stance of the Christian.

In v. 16 then εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστιανός would also have a double emphasis: on the one hand, standing over against all evildoers and on the other against bad Christians, with respect to their particular relationship to the Christian community. As Christ died, suffering unjustly, πάσχων ἀδίκως (2:19), so must the Christian, in innocence. It is primarily a matter of a right attitude or position toward Christ and his community that is determinative (and in this light ἀγαθοποιΐα may well be interpreted in v. 19 as a right position rather than "good work" or "good works").

In 4:16 it is clearly as a Christian and, in fact, a good one (cf. 4:19), that the Christian is enjoined to suffer and not to be ashamed of glorifying God in this way--for the name of Christ and as a Christian. As was noted above concerning αἰσχύνομαι and ἀγαθοποιΐα, such admonition to suffer and to take a right position (if ἀγαθοποιΐα may be so interpreted) both as to not being ashamed and to enduring suggests another gospel association--a sort of "catena" in the mind of the writer of 1 Peter. The parallel in Matthew to Mark 8:38 appears to be Matt. 10:33, with a verb of denial, ἀρνεῖσθαι (cf. Lk. 12:9 and 2Tim. 2:12). Matt. 10:33, in turn, suggests Matt. 12:31 where βλασφημία against the Spirit definitively separates man from salvation. (It is possible that it is in some such free "catena" of gospel sayings and ideas that the longer reading of 1 Peter 4:14 can be accounted for as an understandable early gloss.)

4:17 again takes up the apocalyptic theme in the form of judgment "beginning with the house of God". This theme is continued by means of a quotation of Prv. 11:31 (LXX) which confirms a warning concerning τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπειθούντων the gospel of God (cf. 1 Peter 2:20, Rom. 5:7?). The proverb quotation in v. 18 carries with it several possible ideas: how much more difficult it is for the impious and sinner than for the righteous man to be saved; but in addition, that the righteous man himself scarcely, μόλις, is saved. It is possible that two other ideas here present themselves: that even many of the righteous may fall away before the end-time (Mt. 24:12) and that were the time not shortened, one could scarcely be saved (Mt. 24:22) οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σάρξ. These apocalyptic references appear to fit in well with the context of the passage.

V. 19: The argument of 4:12-19 is drawn together in v. 19 in terms of the Christian who has the right attitude or stance, being able to rest in assurance on a faithful creator (cf. 2Tim. 2:11-13), that his suffering is according to God's will, and therefore it is implied that he will be vindicated as was Jesus Christ (cf. 2:21). This verse is of particular interest in that like Phil. 2:5ff. the example is given of Christ and yet this example is used in a more or less ethical context. Stendahl points out that often in the N.T. the kerygma--proclaimed on the whole to the "out-group" for missionary purposes--is used in a "kerygmatic" way for the

"in-group" as an admonition to ethical behavior.[29]

The verb παρατίθημι (cf. 2:23 and Lk. 23:46) strongly suggests a sense of confidence.

The question of the meaning of ἀγαθοποιΐα (1P 4:19) can be studied above and beyond the basic description of "good work". In the first place, the Christian must be the opposite of the evil-doer (κακοποιός); but further than that, he must also take his stand, his position in the right way, i.e. with reference to Christ and judgment (cf. 1QM xvii.8ff.).

The emphasis on predestination which is so strong in the Qumran community leads to certainty of its members that they will, indeed, be in the "lot" (גורל) of God in the end-time, i.e. that they will be saved and not in the "lot" of Belial. The office or station of the sectarian is to stand firm in that "lot". It is interesting to note that in 1 Peter 5:3 there is a reference to the "lots" κλῆροι. While גורל does not occur in the plural in Qumran for such designations, it is entirely possible that the idea could have come over into the Greek in a plural form. It is probable that the early Christian community shared this hope and felt that they through Christ would indeed be among those saved--the elect. In 1P 5:12 it is possible that there is injunction to stand firm in this "lot".

It is to be noted that 1P 5:8ff. refers to the cosmic dualism between God and the Devil, the Adversary. This, too,

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[29]Stendahl, "Kerygma und Kerygmatisch," TLZ77 (1952), cols. 715-20.

reinforces both the apocalyptic nature of the passage, 4:12-5:11, as a whole and the possibility that the lots referred to may be those designated on the one hand for salvation or on the other to the Devil. This would also fit in with an interpretation of ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος as a leader who leads the community in the wrong direction (warned against in 5:2ff.) or--what would have the same eventual effect--an alien or false ἐπίσκοπος (in opposition to the chief shepherd, 5:4, which looks back to 2:25, Christ the Shepherd and Bishop of the redeemed community).

Summary of Preliminary Exegetical Observations on 1P 4:12-19: The passage can be seen as an admonition in the face of end-time trials or persecution interpreted in apocalyptic terms. There is hope for vindication in the close association of the Christian with Christ's sufferings, which is bound up also with his glory (vindication and exaltation). The Christian is depicted as living in awareness of the end-time with its final conflict with the Devil. Such a dualistic idea calls forth not only the need for good conscience and behavior as a member of Christ's community, but also a totally right attitude. Such an attitude includes joyful willingness to suffer, since the basic stance is one of confident expectation of victory even in the face of almost unendurable trial or testing. It is Christ who is the true Shepherd and the Christian community is exhorted to follow his example. The

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fact that this pseudonymous Epistle is attributed to the martyr-apostle Peter lends authority to the writing which is cast at least in part in a modification of a "testament" form which is understandable to its readers or hearers.

ΠΥΡΩΣΙΣ AND THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER 4:12

I. Lexicographical Data

A. Non-Jewish Greek Texts:

The noun, πύρωσις, a nomen actionis of πυρόω,[1] occurs three times in the N.T. Two of these occurrences denote the literal fire of burning ὁ καπνὸς τῆς πυρώσεως αὐτῆς in Rev. 18:9,18--referring to the smoke of the burning of Babylon--and only once in 1P 4:12 is πύρωσις apparently taken in a more figurative sense. In Did. 16:5, the phrase πύρωσις τῆς δοκιμασίας occurs with similar connotations. These are the only two similar occurrences of πύρωσις in the earliest Christian literature.[2]

The noun, πύρωσις, has a variety of uses in Classical Greek stemming from a basic literal meaning of "firing" and "burning" with descriptive applications from uses in such areas as cooking and boiling to uses in medical terminology ranging from fever and inflammation to actual cautery.

The more literal use as "firing" and "burning" is found in Theophrastus' (iv/iii BC) Historia Plantarum 5.9.1 and 7.7.2. In his de Lapidibus 4 et al. πύρωσις denotes exposure to the

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[1] F. Lang, art. πῦρ, πυρόω, πύρωσις, κτλ., in G. Kittel, et al. (eds.), Theol. Wörterb. z. N.T. [= TWzNT], VI (1959), p. 951.

[2] The Apologist, Justin (Dial. 116,2) uses πύρωσις once, as a synonym for θλῖψις. See below, p. 100.

action of fire, as in cooking. Aristotle makes similar use of πύρωσις for cooking and boiling (Problemata $928^{a}24$ and Meteorologica $380^{b}28$). The physician Mnesitheus (iii BC) also uses πύρωσις to describe boiling (apud Oribasium 8.357d).

Medical usages range from Hippocrates (v BC) in Loc. Hom. where πύρωσις denotes a fever and Epicurus (iv/iii BC) who uses πύρωσις for inflammation (Fragm. 60)[3] as does Dioscorides (i AD) in de Materia Medica 2.124 to Antyllus' (ii AD) use of πύρωσις for cautery (apud Oribasium 44.23.42). A feverish state is described as πύρωσις in Sextus Severus' (ii AD) πυρρώνειοι ὑποτυπώσεις 2.240.

Aristotle also uses πύρωσις for a flame (Meteorologica $369^{b}6$) and a somewhat more metaphorical descriptive application occurs in a Scholion on Aristophanes' Plutus 975, in which πύρωτις denotes burning desire.

Moulton and Milligan[4] define πύρωσις in 1P 4:12 as "heat,"

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[3]This reference is the same as that of P. Linde, De Epicuri vocabulis ab optima Atthide alienis (1906), p. 39, where the reference is given as 116,28: ἄτομοι...παρέσχον θερμότητα καὶ πύρωσιν τῷ σώματι (ubi de vino calefaciente loquitur). C. Bailey, Epicurus: The Extant Remains with short critical apparatus, translation and notes (1926), p. 122 cites this passage as part of the Symposium, Fragmenta Epicurea V.7.5 and translates (p. 123): "the atoms which create heat at one time come together and...give heat and inflammation to the body..." Bailey in his Commentary on 7 (=Usener 60, 1887 edition) p. 389, claims the passage to be cited from Plutarch's attack on Colotes and is an extract "from a discussion in Epicurus' Symposium on the results of differences of atomic arrangements in compounds illustrated by the effects of wine on the human body."

[4]J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament (1930), p. 560.

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"fiery heat" and refer to the Berlin Magical Papyrus ($2^{iii.110}$, Parthey, [5] = Berlin P 5026, col. 3, line 110[6]). This magical papyrus is dated from about the 4 Cent. A.D. The line in which πύρωσις appears follows a hymn to Apollo in which the god is described under various aspects in the four parts of the heavens. Line 108f.: ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς νότον μέρεσι μορφὴν ἔχεις τοῦ ἁγίου ἱέρακος, δι' ἧς πέμπεις τὴν εἰς ἀέρα πύρωσιν ... is translated by Parthey as: "in den südlichen Gegegenden hast du die Gestalt des heiligen Sperbers, durch welche[7] du sendest die Hitze in die Luft..." and similarly by Preisendanz, "in den Gegenden nach dem Südwind zu aber hast du die Gestalt des heiligen Sperbers, durch welche du die Glut in die Luft sendest..." Moulton and Milligan also refer to the Linde reference from Epicurus 116,28.[8]

B. Jewish-Greek and Related Texts:

Josephus in the Antiquities 1.11.4 (Naber)[9] = I,203 (Loeb)[10] describes the destruction by fire of the wicked city of Sodom and of its inhabitants in terms of κατεπίμπρα τὴν γῆν ὁμοίᾳ

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[5] G. Parthey (hrsgb.), Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums (1866), pp. 153, 160, 165f. [=Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1865].

[6] K. Preisendanz et al. (übers. u. hrsgb.), Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri, Vol. I (1928), pp. 18f. and 26f.

[7] I.e. "from which form".

[8] Cited above, in footnote 3.

[9] S. A. Naber (ed.), Josephus, Leipzig (T.) 1888-96.

[10] H. St. J. Thackeray (transl.), Josephus IV, Jewish Antiquities, Books I-IV (1930), [= Loeb Classical Library].

πυρώσει ἀφανίζων... (burnt it to the ground, obliterating the land with a similar conflagration as previously described, in the Jewish War IV, 483-85]).[11] This recalls the destruction of Babylon in Rev. 18:9, 18[12] (cf. 9:18 and Lk. 17:28-30). The destruction of Sodom, Gen. 19:24-5, 19:28; of Tyre, Ezek. 28: 18; and perhaps with somewhat more eschatological overtones, of Edom, Is. 34.9f. (cf. also Ezek. 38:22 and Ps. 11:6) are evidences of God's judgment against the wicked cities and their inhabitants by sending fire (and brimstone) to destroy them. Such punishment has become the paradigm for future generations, 3 Macc. 2:5.

This motif of Sodom's punishment is also found in 1QpHab. x.5 and 13 where it takes on a more eschatological thrust. In 1QpHab. x.3ff. God brings judgment and punishes by fire of brimstone the house of judgment in the midst of many peoples--referring to judgment over the Wicked Priest (cf. 1QpHab. ix.9 and 15). Thus the Wicked Priest's judgment is described in terms of fire of sulphur which is the instrument of punishment. Similarly the Preacher of Lies is described in line 13 as coming under "judgment of fire for having insulted and outraged the elect of God."

Rev. 18:9, 18 and 19:3 and the similar descriptions of

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[11]The noun, πύρωσις, does not occur in Philo. See: I. Leisegang (compiler), Indices ad Philonis Alexandrini Opera, in L. Cohen - P. Wendland - S. Reiter (eds.), Philonis Alexandrini Opera..., Vol. VII, 2 (1930).

[12]See above, p. 1.

judgment in the Habakkuk Commentary are clearly in a more eschatological mood than that of Josephus' description of the destruction of the wicked city which is set within a narrower historical framework.

While Josephus does not refer to an eschatological πύρωσις, Hippolytus when he describes the Essenes' (and also the Pharisees')[13] doctrine of judgment and a final cosmic conflagration (Refutatio omnium haeresium IX.27) uses the term ἐκπύρωσις for conflagration or burning apparently bringing the doctrine into line with Stoic usage: λέγουσι δὲ καὶ κρίσιν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἐκπύρωσιν, καὶ τούς ἀδίκους κολασθήσεσθαι εἰσαεί. (IX. 27.3)[14] ("Furthermore, they declare that there will be a judgment and a universal conflagration and that the wicked will be punished forever.")[15] It is not quite clear as to why Hippolytus used a Stoic term, ἐκπύρωσις, to describe this cosmic conflagration since it appears in the context of Jewish ideas.[16]

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[13]See F. M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran (1961[2]) [= ALQ], p. 94, n. 94.

[14]P. Wendland (ed.), Hippolytus Werke III, Refutatio Omnium Haeresium IX, 27.3 (cf. IX, 18-28) [GCS 26], Berlin, 1916, pp. 256-61.

[15]English translation from A. Dupont-Sommer (translated by G. Vermes), The Essene Writings from Qumran (1961) [= EWQ], p. 34, n.2.

[16]Cf. ALQ, p. 94 and n.94; M. Black, "The Account of the Essenes in Hippolytus and Josephus," in W. D. Davies and D. Daube (eds.), The Background of the N.T. and its Eschatology [Dodd Festschrift] (1956), pp. 172-75[= M. Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins (1961), pp. 187-91]; cf. A. Adam, Antike Berichte über die Essener (1961)--for collection of texts in convenient form, especially pp. 41-51.

In the Refutatio IX, 27, 2, Hippolytus has pointed out: (2) ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα τούτων δόγματα πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σφετερισάμενοι ἰδίας δόξας συνεστήσαντο... (3) ὧν μάλιστα Πυθαγόρας καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τούτοις μαθητευθέντες παρέλαβον ..[17] i.e. Pythagoras and Egyptian Stoics learned these things as disciples of the Essenes. Josephus (Antiq. XV, 371) simply claims that the Essenes practiced a way of life similar to that taught by Pythagoras to the Greeks. It is not surprising that the Christian apologist, Hippolytus, would make the claim that Pythagoras and the Stoics of Egypt learned from the Essenes, since such anachronisms were common in apologetic writings, and because it is an old Greek tradition that the Greeks learned from the Orientals or the Jews (cf. Hermippus [v BC] apud Josephus, contra Apion I, 165 and apud Origen, contra Celsum 1.15). Hippolytus uses ἐκπύρωσις which is understandable to readers of Greek pagan background and also since he has just referred to the Stoics.

It is to be noted, however, that the term ἐκπύρωσις in the Stoic sense is not used by other early Christian apologists. Although Justin Martyr writes that there will be an ἐκπύρωσις (2 Apol. 7:3), using the Stoic term, he rejects two Stoic ideas which are associated with this term: firstly, that

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[17] See n. 14 and 15. "(2) But there are still more Essene doctrines which many Greeks have appropriated to make them their own...(3) Among them, Pythagoras and the Stoics among the Egyptians [Dupont-Sommer: "of Egypt"] received most in following the school of the Essenes."

ἐκπύρωσις involves the dissolution of all things into one another; and secondly, that human actions are predetermined by fate.

In Justin's use of ἐκπύρωσις which he identifies with the fire of judgment (τὸ πῦρ τὸ τῆς κρίσεως, 2 Apol. 7,2) man's punishment is determined by his own virtue or vice. Justin maintains that God delays destruction, κατάλυσις, of the world because of the presence of Christians. This fire of judgment was similarly kept from effecting total destruction of the world by the presence of Noah or Deucalion (= Greek Noah who was saved in the wrathful flood of Zeus).[18]

The date of Justin's Second Apology is about A.D. 161. In the latest of the writings of the N.T., 2 Peter (which may not have been written too much before ca. 150), it is interesting to note that where the idea of final destruction of the world by fire does occur, 2P 3:7,10 and 12, neither πύρωσις nor ἐκπύρωσις is used.

A cosmic end-time conflagration in which the old world will finally be destroyed is, indeed, a part of Essene eschatology. Fire is a commonly used religious motif both of the good-constructive and the evil-destructive. Fire is associated with the origin and growth of culture, the revelation of

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[18] I.C.T. Otto, Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi, I. Opera Iustini Indubita (1876³), ad loc. For English translation: A. Roberts - J. Donaldson - A. C. Coxe (eds.), The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. I (1896).

the divine and with purification leading to salvation. It is likewise associated with destructive activity and punishment. While fire is closely connected with sacrifice and in cultic action is a sign of God's covenant with man (Gen. 15:17, Ex. 3:2, cf. Acts 7:30, 2:3), it is also the final means of punishment for those who are doomed to eschatological judgment (Amos 7:4, Is. 33:11, 66:24, cf. 1QH iii.19-36, IEn. 18:11, 90:23-26, Mt. 25:41, 2P 3:7).

[For brief observations from the comparative study of religion, see Excursus I, below, pp.106-111.]

C. Later Lexicographers:

That the term, ἐκπύρωσις, had connotations in Stoic usage which were lost or deliberately changed in the writings of the early Christian apologists[19] illustrates the evolution of a term in the course of time. Under the impact of historical and/or theological development (or for reasons thus far not determined) terms may undergo a variety of changes both in usage and, that which is the result of usage--meaning.[20] One of the means of tracing such development is, of course, in

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[19]See above, p.6.

[20]Three terms which have a particularly complex background and development and which easily illustrate this point are μάρτυς, παρρησία and παράκλητος. Yet the reasons and steps in their evolution are yet to be found. For some indication of the complexity of the problem of, for example, μάρτυς, see the Bibliography in N. Brox, Zeuge und Märtyrer: Untersuchungen zur frühchristlichen Zeugnis-Terminologie (1961), including K. Stendahl's study of the problem: "Martyr. Ordet och Saken. En forskningsöversikt," SvTKv 27 (1951), 28-44.

lexicons, particularly those rich in material of the period being investigated.[21]

Hesychius of Alexandria (v AD [?]), the grammarian and lexicographer whose work reflected the vocabulary of many early Greek Fathers gives δοκιμασία as the definition of πύρωσις. Unfortunately, however, his lexicon survives only in a single 15th Cent. manuscript from which references to the sources of the words from which he derived a meaning are excised. But his choice of δοκιμασία , a "test," "trial," or "examination" clearly indicates the direction of his interpretative choice.[22]

Schleusner, in his lexicon of the LXX apparently had a reading involving πύρωσις (which appears to be a secondary Greek development) in Ezek. 23:37. He translates cibus (food) from אכלה but this reference may be omitted from current consideration.[23] His other references are to Prv. 27:21 where

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[21]For ἐκπύρωσις , G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Fasc. I, 1961; II, 1962; III, 1964 and IV, 1965) could be used, but unfortunately the last fascicle published to date includes words only up to προκατατίθημι.

[22]In the editions of C. Schrevel, Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon cum notis variorum, Lyons and Rotterdam (1668), s.v.; of J. Alberti, Leiden, 2 vols. (1746-66), s.v.; and of M. Schmidt, 5 vols., Jena, 1858-68, s.v., the reference to 1P 4:12 is not suggested, although it is clear from Hesychius' choice of δοκιμασία as a synonym that 1P 4:12 is a possible reference he may have had in mind--and it is so listed in H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, rev. and ed. by H. S. Jones (1940[9]) [=L/S].

[23]The LXX reads; καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, ἃ ἐγέννησάν μοι, διήγαγον αὐτοῖς δι' ἐμπύρων (Göttingen edition). The phrase

πύρωσις translates כור, fornax (furnace) and to Amos 4:9 for שדפון, uredo (a blight [upon plants]).[24] In his lexicon on

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δι' ἐμπύρων hardly seems an adequate translation of the M.T.: לאכלה and appears more to reflect the Syriac b'š. Such confusion both in an early version and in various Greek variant readings seems to point toward a different Hebrew basic text than the M.T., one which might include באש or לאש. It is to be noted that in Ezekiel there is a fairly standard cliché לאש לאכלה (e.g. 15:4 and 6, 21:37). It is also to be noted that לאכלה alone has an equivalent meaning (omitting the לאש) in e.g. 35:12 and 39:4. It is thus conceivable that 23:37 originally in some text forms now lost to us had: לאש לאכלה in 23:37 which is reflected in δι' ἐμπύρων . The earliest variant Greek reading ἐν πυρί occurs in 967, the 3rd Century Chester Beatty Papyrus (= Scheide) and would thus reflect (as does the Syriac) the possible original presence in a Hebrew text of לאש (or באש) probably in the standard cliche לאש לאכלה. Other later Greek variants also reflect the presence of לאש, e.g. διὰ πυρώσεως which occurs in three cursives (87-91^{txt}-130), a catena group predominantly following the LXX and related to the reading δι' ἐμπυρώσεως attested in the first sub-group of the Lucianic family (?I). It is, however, to be observed that the cliché of destruction without the actual occurrence of the phrase לאש occurs in Ezek. 35:12 and 39:4 but the Greek strongly suggests that in 23:37 there was a reference to לאש. Other Greek variants demonstrate this as, for example, διὰ πυρός and δι' ἐμπύρω. It has been conjectured by Cross that this development resulted from a Hebrew text different from and preceding the M.T., possibly even behind a so-called Lucianic recension (more literal) where ἐν πυρί reflects a text with באש and both διὰ πυρός and διὰ πυρώσεως are later secondary inner Greek developments. A choice between variants is not too significant. It is sufficient that a reading ἐν πυρί is very early and that the Syriac text bears this out. As a result it is to be concluded that Schleusner in listing the occurrence of πύρωσις in Ezek. 23:37 is dependent on such a reading. While this is of interest, the occurrence of πύρωσις in Ezek. does not appear to be relevant to the discussion of πύρωσις as it occurs in Proverbs; and it will therefore be omitted from consideration. The question of how באש/לאש does not occur in the M.T. need not be treated here. It might have occurred either through conflation of texts or by haplography involving לאש לאכלה.

[24] I. F. Schleusner, Novus Thesaurus Philologico-Criticus sive Lexicon in LXX et reliquos interpretes Graecos, etc. (1829^2), s.v. He also refers to Hesychius' πύρωσις, δοκιμασία notation.

the N.T. he separates the use of πύρωσις in Rev. 18:9 and 18 into incendium and in 1P 4:12 agreeing with Hesychius he uses δοκιμασία "metaphorice: calamitates, probandae virtutis et constantiae causa alicui immissae, res adversae, quibus homines, ut aurum igne, explorantur et explorati probantur."[25]

Thus in the LXX πυρώσις occurs twice: In Amos 4:9 it translates שִׁדָּפוֹן (from the root, שָׁדַף, to "scorch" or "blight") and denotes a blight [or smut] on crops, a plant disease--possibly attributed to the effect of scorching or blighting by heat. In Prv. 27:21 πύρωσις most probably translates כּוּר, a "smelting pot" or "furnace" which is in synonymous parallelism with מִצְרָף, a "crucible" or "the place or instrument of refining" (from the root צָרַף, to "smelt," "refine" or "test").[26]

The noun, מִצְרָף, occurs twice in the O.T.: in Prv. 17:3 and 27:21, the first parts of which are identical: M.T.:[27]

מַצְרֵף לַכֶּסֶף וְכוּר לָזָהָב.

D. Lexicographical Notes and Related Materials on πυρόω and πῦρ:

The noun, πύρωσις, comes from the verb, πυρόω(< πῦρ). As is to be expected, πυρόω, in Classical Greek exhibits at least

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[25]Schleusner, Novum Lexicon Graeco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum (1808[3]), s.v. This entry also contains references to earlier lexicons.

[26]The possibility of poetic chiasmus of terms makes it not quite certain whether πύρωσις translates כּוּר or מִצְרָף.

[27]Since the pointing of the M.T. is more than half a millenium later than the fixing of the consonantal text, only the consonantal tradition will be used.

as many uses and nuances of meaning as does its nomen actionis, πύρωσις. Again the literal meaning is to burn or annihilate with fire. This may be in a setting of war, of burning as a burnt sacrifice, or being hot to the taste, of cooking or roasting, becoming red as the result of treatment with fire, of fumigation and cautery in medical usage or of being affected by heartburn. A more metaphorical sense of becoming red or heated is to be inflamed or excited. From the literal meaning of being smelted or tested the figurative sense becomes proven by fire and, hence, approved.

This latter use, proving or testing, is that which is most frequently encountered in the LXX. In most cases (where a Hebrew text exists) the Hebrew which is translated πυρόω is צרף and denotes the testing or refining of precious metals in a fire or smelting furnace, e.g. Zech. 13:9, Ps. 11:7 (12:7),[28] 65:10 (66:10) et passim (cf. Prv. 10:20 [בחר]). This use develops into a more metaphorical interpretation so that what is proved or tested by fire is approved. This is a positive use. Thus πυρόω is frequently taken figuratively to denote God's testing of men: Is. 1:25, Judith 8:27, Ps. 104:19 (105:19), Dan. 11:35, 12:10 (Theod.). The verb, πυρόω, is in synonymous parallelism with δοκιμάζω in Pss. 16:3 (17:3), 25:2 (26:2), 65:10 (66:10) and Jer. 9:6; and with πειράζω as well in Ps.

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[28] Where the Greek and Hebrew versification differs, the Greek is given first and the Hebrew (or Aramaic) follows in parentheses.

25:2 (26:2). What has been tested and found pure in the fire or smelting is proved true, as for example Pss. 11:6 (12:6), 17:31 (18:31), 118:140 (119:140), 2Kgd, 22:31 (2Sam. 22:31), and Prv. 30:5 (Greek and Hebr. the same in Rahlfs)[29] concerning the words of God. The image of gold tested by fire is found in Rev. 3:18[30] and is a description of the tested gift of salvation in Christ and of true faith as better than any baser imitation. In the Visions of Hermas (4,3,4) there is a comparison between metals refined through smelting and the spiritual cleansing of Christians in the fire or testing. In the description of Polycarp's martyrdom by fire, he is described (Mart. Poly. 15:2) as gold and silver refined in a furnace (cf. Dan. 3:46 and 3Macc. 6:6).

Of the many uses of the noun, πῦρ, only a few should be noted as of particular relevance to the word study of πύρωσις. Lang notes an etymological similarity of πῦρ; the German, Feuer; the Latin, purus--from the I.E. root *peu = to purify or test.[31]

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[29]A. Rahlfs (ed.), Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes Vols. I and II (1935[7]) [= Rahlfs].

[30]L/S lists under πυρόω, III,3--metaphorical use: proved by fire, approved Ph. I.57. This reference appears to be in error. Leisegang, op. cit., s.v. has I. 81,16 (= Leg. All. I,77). This reference is also quoted by Lang, op. cit., p. 949 and is in the correct context. Philo only uses πυρόω in the passive.

[31]Lang, op. cit., p. 928, n.1. See literature cited for evidence. While the etymology behind πῦρ and purus is not sure, it would appear that in both some similar Indo-European roots are involved. The idea of fire and purification are not surprisingly connected.

Plato (Respublica III 413e) treats of the refining of precious metals with fire. Fire of purification occurs in Euripides (v BC), Iphi. Aul. 1112 and a fire-ordeal to test for innocence is noted in Sophocles' Ant. 265.

Pliny the Elder (i AD) in the Naturalis Historia II, 27, after describing varieties and instances of meteors and comets, comments on the occurrence of startling phenomena in the sky which he interprets as "harbingers of enormous misfortunes." One such omen is: et caeli ipsius hiatus, quod vocant chasma, (XXVII) fit et sanguinea species et, quo nihil terribilius mortalium timori est, incendium ad terras cadens... ("There also occurs a yawning of the actual sky, called chasma, (XXVII) and also something that looks like blood, and a fire that falls from it to the earth--the most alarming possible cause of terror to mankind...")[32]

In the Persian dualistic teaching of Zarathustra fire is pure and holy.[33] It is the means of final testing in the last judgment. Perhaps before the more developed eschatology of the Bundahishn[34] there was development from an idea of an ordeal, resulting in separation of the two dualistically opposed "strivings," one to reward of the righteous and the other to avenging of the wicked. In the Avesta, Yasna 47,6 it is by

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[32] H. Rackham (transl.), Pliny [the Elder], Natural History I (1938), [= Loeb Classical Library].

[33] See below, p. 107

[34] See below, p. 108, n. 4.

the bounteous spirit of Ahura Mazda and by fire that the bestowals are made, and in Yasna 51,9 justice and vengeance are by means of flaming fire.[35]

In most cases in the O.T. πῦρ translates the Hebrew אש or the Aramaic נור. In the cult, fire is associated with sacrifice and purification. God's wrathful judgment is often expressed in terms of fire, e.g. Ezek. 22:20f., Na. 1:6, Ps. 78:5 (79:5), 88:47 (89:47). The image of the refiner's fire (Mal. 3:2) is stretched so that the fire of a smelter or refiner of metals becomes the simile for suffering and affliction that results in purification--separating the dross from the precious metals (usually gold and silver). Some examples are: Is. 1:25, Jer. 6:27f., Ezek. 22:17-22, Mal. 3:2, Prv. 17:3, Sir. 2:5, and Zech. 13:9.

[For observations on the religious significance of fire imagery and πῦρ as an instrument of God's judgment, see Excursus II, below, pp. 112-118.]

II. Meaning and Use of ΠΥΡΩΣΙΣ

A. O.T. Texts:

The noun, πύρωσις , occurs in the LXX in Amos 4:9 and Prv. 27:21. In Amos 4:9 it translates שדפון, a plant blight, which is one of the characteristic terms used to describe nature curses for covenant breaking.[36] This usage of πύρωσις

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[35] L. H. Mills (transl.) the Zend-Avesta, Part III (The Yasna et al.) Vol. 31 in Sacred Books of the East (ed.) F. M. Müller (1887) ad loc. Cf. references to the later formulation of the Bundahishn passage cited on p. 108 below.

[36] See, for example, Dt. 28:22, cf. 1Kgs. 8:37 = 2Chr. 6:28. An interesting conjecture has been made by Prof. Strugnell (orally) concerning שדפון. In dictionaries of classical (Biblical) Hebrew שדפון is considered an agricultural term

may have a general bearing on the use of πύρωσις in 1P 4:12--but only peripherally.[37]

In Prv. 27:21 πύρωσις probably translates כור. The Greek text reads as follows:[38]

a) δοκίμιον ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυδῷ πύρωσις,

b) ἀνὴρ δὲ δοκιμάζεται διὰ στόματος ἐγκωμιαζόντων αὐτόν.

This, with no major variant, is the translation of the M.T.:

a) מצרף לכסף וכור לזהב

b) ואיש לפי מהללו

There is no variant in the M.T. of (a).

A literal translation would be:

The refining crucible is for silver and the furnace for gold,

And a man is tried according to his praise (reputation).

It would appear that πύρωσις is used to translate כור.

But it must be noted that Prv. 17:3 has an identical first

(Lat.: uredo) from the root שדף, to scorch or blight. In the O.T. it occurs in Hag. 2:17, Dt. 28:22, 1Kgs. 8:37 = 2Chr. 6:28 as well as in Amos 4:9; but only in Amos 4:9 is it translated in the LXX as πύρωσις. Prof. Strugnell suggests that an original resh might have been read dalet and that the original root in Amos 4:9 might have been שׂרף, to burn, with a noun based upon it *שׂרפון possibly meaning "burning" and thus easily translated in a literal sense by πύρωσις. The context in the passages cited above containing שדפון might, indeed, include this concept as a form of natural devastation. Against this, however, is the fact that M. Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (1950) while containing both roots שדף and שׂרף does not appear to contain any occurrence of שׂרפון.

[37] See below, p. 102, n.168.

[38] There are not many modern commentaries or special works on the LXX of Proverbs. One useful older work is P. de Lagarde, Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien (1863).

line in the M.T. (with no variants given). Prv. 17:3:

a) מצרף לכסף וכור לזהב
b) ובחן לבות יהוה׃

The refining crucible is for silver and the furnace
for gold,
And Yahweh tries hearts.

But the LXX translation of 17:3a differs from that of the identical line of Prv. 27:21a.

Prv. 17:3:

a) ὥσπερ δοκιμάζεται ἐν καμίνῳ ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός,
b) οὕτως ἐκλεκταὶ[39] καρδίαι παρὰ κυρίῳ.

As silver and gold are tried in a furnace,
So are choice hearts with (=in the sight or judgment of) the Lord.

The first line of the Hebrew is identical in each proverb. The words כסף, זהב and כור present no problems. They are common and so are the association of ideas in context in both proverbs. Clearly the refining of gold and silver in a furnace of some sort is the image of the trial of man.

The noun, כור, is a pot or furnace for smelting or refining metals. But it is always used metaphorically for human suffering or discipline at the hand of God. Furthermore, this

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[39] See de Lagarde, op. cit., ad loc. and G. Mezzacasa, Il Libro dei Proverbi di Salomone: Studio critico sulle aggiunte Greco-Alessandrine (1913). Mezzacasa points out that may result from a reading בחר rather than the M.T. בחן (as also in the syr[pesh]).

metaphorical use is confined to a specific set of ideas, and it remains to be seen how מצרף in Proverbs and in the sectarian literature from Qumran relate to the use of πύρωσις in 1 Peter.

In Dt. 4:20 Moses addresses the people reminding them of God's mighty acts and of the commandments and covenant as they are to enter the promised land: "But the Lord has taken you and brought you forth out of the iron furnace, out of Egypt (M.T.: ממצרים = מכור הברזל; LXX: ἐκ τῆς καμίνου τῆς σιδηρᾶς = ἐξ Αἰγύπτου) to be a people of his own possession..." (M.T.: לעם נחלה; LXX: λαὸν ἔγκληρον).

In 1Kings 8:51 Solomon's prayer of dedication contains the same image: "...for they are thy people, and thy heritage (M.T. = עמך ונחלתך; 3Kdg., LXX: λαός μου καὶ κληρονομία σου) which thou didst bring out of Egypt, from the midst of the iron furnace... (M.T.: מתוך כור הברזל; LXX: ἐκ μέσου χωνευτηρίου[40] σιδήρου)."

In Is. 48:9-11 the prophet addresses Israel: "For my name's sake (למעני שמי, ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀνόματος) I defer my anger...I have tried[41] [צרף || בחר] you in the furnace of

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[40] There is no variant in A. E. Brooke - N. McLean - N. St. J. Thackeray (eds.), The O.T. in Greek, Vol. II, Part 2, (1930), ad loc.

[41] In 1QIsa[a] the reading is בחן in Is. 48:10. See M. Burrows et al. (eds.), The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Vol. I. The Isaiah Manuscript..., plate XL, l. 15.

affliction (M.T.: בכור עני; LXX = rescued you [ἐκ] καμίνου πτωχείας)[42] for my own sake (למעני, ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ)...." Although there are textual difficulties in this passage, it is clear that the furnace of affliction is related to the curbing of the anger of the Lord for his own sake--for the sake of the relationship of the people to him.

In Jer. 11:4 Jeremiah reminds the people forcibly of God's covenant in which he "brought them out of the land of Egypt, from the iron furnace (= Dt. 4:20)" that they may be his people.

In Ezek. 22:18,20,22 the context is a declaration Israel's sins and their chastisement that they may know that God is Lord. "...the house of Israel has become dross...all of them, silver and bronze and tin and iron and lead in the furnace (בתוך כור, εἰς μέσου καμίνου)... Because you have all become dross I will gather you...as men gather (the metals) into a furnace (same as Hebrew and Greek above) to blow fire upon it in order to melt it; so I will gather you in my anger and in my wrath...and melt you...and blow upon you with the fire of my wrath and you shall be melted...as silver is melted in a

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[42] Cf. Sirach 2:5: ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ δοκιμάζεται χρυσὸς καὶ ἄνθρωποι δεκτοὶ ἐν καμίνῳ ταπεινώσεως

The variants in the Göttingen LXX reflect the similarity of this verse to Prv. 17:3. The Göttingen LXX lists the following variants among others: οτι] ωσπερ γαρ Chr. I 936 II 28 III 296; + ωσπερ Chr. II 184: (cf. Prv. 17:3). πυρι] καμινω Chr. II 28 = Prov. 17:3.

The variants obviously are not significant for the original form of the text, but are interesting in that they point up the similarity of the two passages and the way in which such an early Church Father as Chrysostom (late 4 Cent.) associates the two passages. Note, too, that δεκτοί probably results from a reading of בחן in a Hebrew text.

furnace (same as Hebrew and Greek above), so you shall be melted...and know that I the Lord have poured out my wrath upon you."

In these passages כור (κάμινος and once χωνευτήριον) is not only a simile for suffering and discipline in general but the furnace is closely associated with the idea of God's dealing with his own people, the people of his own possession, the house of Israel through rescuing, chastising and trying or testing them in the context of God's covenant love and care--for his sake, for his name's sake. Even where there is wrathful judgment and punishment it is that God's people may know that he is the Lord.

The identical first lines of Prv. 27:21 and 17:3 in Hebrew use כור as the smelting furnace for gold and מצרף as a parallel object for another precious metal, silver. The noun, מצרף, which occurs only in these two places in the O.T. (from the root צרף), indicates a place or instrument of refining or smelting.[43] Since כור is always used elsewhere in the O.T. in a metaphorical way, to apply to God's testing or trying man, and--in particular-- God's own people, and since the second half of each proverb is, indeed, in a context of trial (Prv. 27:21 has no verb of testing but the sense obviously

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[43]The Piel active participle מצרף refers to the person who does the refining (Mal. 3:2). The Greek equivalent of this word, πυρωτής, does not occur in the LXX (except as variant readings at Ne. 3:8 and Is. 41:7: Jer. 6:29 [Aq., Sm.].

carries this meaning: Prv. 17:3 has בחן, to examine or try, a synonym of צרף-- cf. Job 23:10 et passim), it may be assumed that both Prv. 27:21 and 17:3 have to do with an image of trying or testing. In Prv. 27:21 this testing of men appears to be according to the opinions of other men, their reputations; and in Prv. 17:3 according to God's testing of the heart.

Clearly כור is parallel to מצרף and both refer to smelting furnaces--places where dross is removed from precious metal leaving the precious metals purified and refined. If then כור is translated with πύρωσις--a somewhat unusual word but obviously adaptable to this meaning from its verbal antecedent πυρόω which may have "to refine or smelt" as one of its meanings as well as "to purify and judge by fire"--then its synonym, מצרף, similarly from a verb of smelting, צרף, might also be translated with πύρωσις.

Dahood, in commenting on similarities of Ugaritic poetic conventions with those of the canonical Psalter, makes a statement which might be applicable to the first lines of Prv. 17:3 and 27:21: "The Ugaritic practice of pairing a concrete noun with one that is abstract (but both to be understood and translated concretely) forecloses emendation in a score of texts that scholars had considered lacking proper balance."[44] While there is no question of emendation here, the problem involving

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[44] M. Dahood (intro, transl. and notes), Psalms I:1-50 [= Anchor Bible 16]. (1966), p. xxxiii.

כור/ מצרף and the Greek equivalents πύρωσις/δοκίμιον /κάμινος (and a Hexaplaric variant on Prv. 27:21, χωνευτήριον)[45] might be somewhat simplified. Obviously the word πύρωσις whether it be connected with כור or with מצרף is meant in the Proverbs to have a concrete meaning--then taken metaphorically for testing man rather than metals--but possibly the word מצרף and the word πύρωσις might be more abstract in the construction, yet meant to be translated, in accordance with Dahood's suggestion concerning Psalms (and this suggestion would also apply to Proverbs), concretely.

There is a problem as to why there are two different translations in Greek of what is found as identical in the M.T. New solutions are being found today by O.T. text-critics.[46]

According to present knowledge, it would be reasonable to think of two different underlying Hebrew text types. Cross suggests that the two different translations would then stem from two different traditions or recensions.[47]

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[45]F. Field (ed.), Origenis Hexapla (1875), on Prv. 27:21.

[46]In the light of recent progress in LXX text critical studies by Cross, it has been demonstrated that there are more text types than had previously been deemed possible. Thus a difference in translation Greek may stem from a different extant recension rather than from conscious choice, interpretation or theologizing. (This latter problem enters in in any case, since all translation must involve interpretation but it need not be the first area of concern.) See: a) ALQ, pp. 173ff., b) Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," HTR57 (1964), 281-99, and c) Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," IEJ16 (1966), 81-95 (address delivered at opening of the Shrine of the Book, Jerusalem, April 21, 1965).

[47]Prof. Cross in an oral communication, 1966.

The two different translations do, however, express the same underlying idea. In Prv. 27:21 δοκίμιον, a testing or means of testing as assaying metals (cf. 1P 1:7 with same context) translates מצרף. In the LXX δοκίμιον probably has its adjectival meaning, as "genuine and without alloy" in 1Chr. 29:4 and Zech. 11:13. In Ps. 11:6 (12:6) it translates עליל which has been conjectured to mean "furnace" or "crucible."[48] Thus in Prv. 27:21 neither δοκίμιον nor πύρωσις gives a very smooth translation of the Hebrew and yet the sense is clear: silver and gold are tried in the refining furnace. In the second part of Prv. 27:21 δοκιμάζω is used as a parallel thought and the sense is likewise conveyed by the use of the Hebrew כור in connection with silver and gold. There is not much doubt about the general sense of the translation.

And it is precisely the verb, δοκιμάζω, "to put to the test" or "examine" or "to prove by testing" (as gold Prv. 8:10, Sir. 2:5, Wsd. 3:6) which is used to translate this same line in Prv. 17:3a. The image is spelled out with no ambiguity: ὥσπερ δοκιμάζεται ἐν καμίνῳ (κάμινος is the most common Greek

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[48] F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs (eds.), A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the O.T. (based on E. Robinson's Engl. transl. of W. Gesenius), (1959) [= BDB], s.v. Apparently the conjecture "furnace, crucible" in Ps. 12:7 comes from a Targumic reading: כורא according to H. Hupfeld (from III עלל "to thrust in, insert"). Another translation, "workshop" (from the root, I עלל "to act arbitrarily") is suggested but termed "wholly dubious." L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner (eds.), Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros (1953) [= K/B] s.v., give the meaning "entrance" (from II עלל, "to enter, insert, thrust in.").

equivalent to translate כור) ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός.... Thus both כור and its synonym מצרף are included under "testing in a crucible."[49]

It would thus appear that both δοκίμιον and πύρωσις in Prv. 27:21 could be interchangeable and bear a double meaning of "trial" and also, more loosely, "place of trial" (which is the κάμινος of Prv. 17:3); and πύρωσις may be considered a possible and appropriate Greek translation of מצרף and/or כור.

B. Sectarian Writings from Qumran:

While מצרף only occurs twice in the O.T. (and in identical passages), it is considerably more frequent in the sectarian writings from Qumran.[50] Although כור occurs seven times at Qumran, in only two cases does it clearly and unambiguously reflect O.T. usage. In 1QH v.16 it is used in the context of the psalmist's thanksgiving to God for not forsaking

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[49] In Prv. 17:3b: ובחן לבות יהיה = οὕτως ἐκλεκταί καρδίαι παρὰ κυρίῳ, the verb בחן apparently corresponds with the ἐκλεκταί. It is possible that there was a misreading for בחר, but such a conjecture is not necessary as בחן can have the meaning ἐκλεκτός, as indeed it does in the use of the Is. 28:16 quotation in 1P 2:4. It is, however, true that a final nun and a resh might be confused. This is a frequent phenomenon in some Qumran documents.

[50] Frequency statistics of words are, of course, only approximate (and even if more accurate are not of value in and of themselves but are dependent on usage from case to case). K. G. Kuhn (ed.), Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten (1960) and the supplementary listings by Kuhn et al., "Nachträge zur Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten," RQ4 (1963-64), 163-234 give a rough figure for the documents thus far published, with many more to come. Where textual emendations or conjectures are made, these figures, too, can be deceptive as the entries can only be added after individual decisions have been made.

him in misfortune and affliction and for rescuing him. 1QH v.15: "...It is in order to show Thy strength through me against the children of men that Thou has dealt wonderfully (16) toward the poor[51] (באביון)."[52] The psalmist then continues:

ותביאהו במצר[ף כזה]ב[53] במעשי אש יככסף
מזוקק בכור נופחים לטהר שבעתים

"Thou hast made him to enter into the מצרף (masc. sg.)[54] as

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[51]Translations given are based in part on collections such as EWQ or G. Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (1962); or on other published translations of individual scrolls or fragments. For a convenient listing of editions of texts and translations, see bibliography in Ringgren, The Faith of Qumran (Engl. transl., 1963), pp. 255-57. For a collection in French, with notes: J. Carmignac et al., Les Textes de Qumran, Vol. I (1961) and Vol. II (1963) [= Carmignac]; in German: J. Maier, Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Vol. I - Translation (1960) and Vol. II - Notes (1960) [= Maier]. A German translation with facing pages of Hebrew text with "masoretic punctuation": E. Lohse, Die Texte aus Qumran (1964). Lohse's work will seldom be referred to as such, but it was used frequently, except where specific passages were problematic or were used in support of a particular premise. Comparison with facsimile plates for textual or palaeographical information was done mainly under the guidance of Prof. Cross, who also advised me concerning translations which deviate from those of others.

[52]The poor, אביון (cf. 1QH ii.32, v.18) "is a common expression in the Psalms for the one who, under persecution from enemies, turns to God...The concept is basically the same in the Hodayot, but the word seems to be used directly as a term for the members of the community, cf. in particular [1QH] v.22, 1QpHab. xii.3,6-7", S. Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran (1960)[= Holm-Nielsen], p. 48, n.4.

[53]This is the reconstruction of J. Licht (text, intro., commentary and glossary), The Thanksgiving Scroll (1957) [In Hebrew], ad loc., with references to Prv. 17:3 and 27:21.

[54]No translation of the noun, מצרף, will be given until the completion of this section on the study of כור and מצרף at Qumran. The forms will, however, be indicated after the Hebrew words.

gold in the fiery works (works of fire) and as silver refined in the crucible (כור) of the smiths (blowers)[55] to a sevenfold purity." Here כור is to the refining of silver as מצרף is to gold in the fire. Such an image of trial or purification is linked both with the showing forth of God's act and with his own community, as was noted of the usage of כור in the O.T.

In CD xx.3 the disobedient member of the holy community is described as a man who is "melted בתוך כור", a quotation of Ezek. 22:22. The context is temporary excommunication and chastisement until he be deemed ready once more to join the community. These occurrences of כור (1QH v.15 and CD xx.3) are the only two of the seven listed which are similar to the metaphorical meaning of כור which dominates its use in the O.T.[56]

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[55]Cf. Sir. 43:4. R. H. Charles (ed.), The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T., Vol. I - Apocrypha (1913) ad loc., notes that the Hebrew text is very difficult here and comparison of his notes with R. Smend (ed.), Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach (1906) confirms this. The Syriac is translated in Charles as: "As the furnace which blows in the work of a smith..." Charles gives the Hebrew as: ... כור נפוח, and BDB translates this phrase as: "a furnace blown upon (heated hot)." The root, נפח, to "breathe" or "blow", is used in connection with fire or heat in the O.T. only at Ezek. 22:20-21 and Jer. 1:13, but smelters or silversmiths appear to be the meaning in 1QH v.16. Later Mishnaic Hebrew would support such a translation, see H. Ringgren, Handskrifterna från Qumran, V - Tackpsalmerna [= Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses, Supplementhäften till SEÅ, 15] (1956), p. 64, n.27. The LXX reads: κάμινον φυσῶν ἐν ἔργοις καύματος (a man blowing a furnace is in works of heat); cf. RSV: A man tending (or: blowing) a furnace works in burning heat. Cf. Sir. 31(34):26: Like a furnace (so Smend, Syriac and a Greek ms. [70] which proveth the work of the smith (Hebrew: מעשה לוטש; LXX quite a different text). Cf. Y. Yadin (intro., emendations and commentary), The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada (1965), p. 29, n.20 and Plate 6.

[56]The other occurrences of כור are either literal: as 1QM v.ii of swords to be used in the War made of iron purified

The noun, מצרף, however, occurs some ten times at Qumran although only twice in the O.T.[57]

A closer analysis of these occurrences will indicate their relevance far beyond the mere statistical evidence. In 1QS i.17 מצרף is parallel to פחד dread, and אימה terror.

(16) וכול הבאים בטרף היחד יעבורו בברית לפני אל לעשות
(17) ככול אשר צוה ולוא לשוב מאחרו מכול פחד ואימה ומצרף
(18) נ[ה]יים[58] בממשלת בליעל׳

בכור; or as an euphemism: as 1QH iii.8,10 and 12 for the womb (or possibly to be read בכור = "first-born"). In 1QH i.22 for the female pudenda--a כור of iniquity, in parallel with other expressions for the insignificance of man with his shame, impurity and sin. Licht in "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," IEJ6 (1956), p. 10, describes the sect's intense stress on human insignificance (a dominant note in the Hodayoth); "Man's weakness, his earthly origin, his fundamental baseness,...all these are repeated again and again...The knowledge of human weakness is developed into a conviction that man is entirely base, and finally into an almost pathological abhorrence of human nature. Particularly significant in this context are the terms ערוה (shame, pudenda) and נדה (menstruation, in the scrolls always 'filth'). Stripped of their original meaning, these words transfer a deep sexual disgust to the contemplation of human nature in general."

[57] That מצרף is not the Piel participle of צרף (= smelter, refiner) can be noted as each occurrence is examined.

[58] The first word of 1QS i.18 presents manifold difficulties. This is reflected by the variety of opinions held by experts. Col. i. of 1QS has been not only corrected but some of the letters have been traced over by a later scribe and appear in thickened and sometimes distorted form. In addition there are at least two cracks through the word in question at the beginning of i.18 which might call both the first and last letters into some doubt. Still further to complicate the matter it is a question as to whether yod and waw can be distinguished with certainty. See: Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in G. E. Wright (ed.), The Bible and the Ancient Near East--Essays in honor of W. F. Albright--(1961); Anchor paperback (1965), pp. 170-264.

"All those who enter into the order of the community shall enter into the covenant before God to act (17) according to everything which he has commanded; they must not turn back from following after him because of any dread or terror or מצרף (masc. sg.) (18) which will come upon them (or: when they are tried [?]) under the dominion of Belial," 1QS i.16f. Clearly there is a piling up of synonyms of dreadful and terrifying trials and afflictions which are to be expected, as

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The first letter is certainly nun and the last mem. H.L. Ginsberg reads the Niphal participle of היה ("which may come to pass") cited in W. H. Brownlee (transl. and notes), The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline (1951) [= Brownlee], p. 9, n.32, a use attested elsewhere at Qumran. Brownlee reads the passive participle of נסה (to test, try) since there appears to be a subsequent "correction" of a he to a samekh. The verb נסה occurs in the O.T. only in the Piel and the Piel infinitive construct is found at Qumran in 1QH ii.14 (and thus far there are no further evidences of its occurrence at Qumran). There is a conjecture in Kuhn's Concordance that the word is a noun: נסוים (trials). P. Wernberg-Møller (transl. and notes), The Manual of Discipline (1957) [= W-M], p. 49, n.43 translates "agony" from a Syriac hym' "terror" but this is not necessary. Nor does the conjecture of S. M. Stern, "Notes on the New Manuscript Find," JBL69 (1950), p. 24, who reads נסיום and translates "oppression", appear possible.

Licht (text, introduction and commentary), The Rule Scroll (1965), ad loc., reads נסויים. He bases his preference on context, in that נסיונות, trials, tests is a concept common both to Biblical and Rabbinic thought. He refers to the two occurrences of forms of נסה in 4QDibHam (see below, p. 75) and adds that πειρασμός is a concept also found in the N.T. Licht does not refer to the problem of the reading per se--but rather argues on the basis of logical context.

Professor Strugnell postulates a form נסוים on the analogy of an original qiṭṭúl noun (cf. W. Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, ed. E. Kautzsch and rev. A. E. Cowley (1910) §84^{b}i [p. 234] and translates: "of their testing". He cites Bauer-Leander and Brockelmann in support of this possibility. Professor Cross, on the other hand, supports an original reading נחיים which is less strained to translate and more grammatically feasible.

members of the community live in a climate of expectation of such trials before the final battle against the dominion of Belial. Thus מצרף must have its meaning within this constellation of ideas.

In 1QS viii.1-4 the council of the community, the leaders of the sect, perfect in everything revealed from the Torah, are to act virtuously living in community

(3) לשמור אמונה בארץ ביצר סמוך ורוח נשברה ולרצת עוון
בעושי[59] משפט (4) וצרת מצרף ולהתהלך עם כול במדת
האמת ובתכון העת׳

"are to keep fidelity in the land with firm character and a broken spirit and to atone for iniquity by doing justice and [by][60] suffering מצרף (masc. sg.) and to walk with everybody

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[59]The translation of עושי is awkward. It could mean "those who practise justice" and is so translated in e.g. EWQ. Professor Strugnell has suggested that the term should rather be עושי from the root עשש, "to waste away [as from grief]" (related to the Akk. uššu, "grief or distress") rather than from the root עשה. The word עושי might be a plural noun of the qutl form with an ע״ע root. It is also to be noted that in לרצת if it were a Hiphil infinitive construct, syncope of the ה in a Hiphil participle at Qumran is common (and the tendency can already be demonstrated in Biblical Hebrew). Professor Strugnell considers the translation: "workers of justice" impossible. He therefore substitutes on the basis of the עשש root: "(by) distresses of the judgment" (which would then be followed by "and the anguish of the מצרף"). The only difficulty with such a solution is the fact that for members of the Qumran sect--and particularly its leaders--it is to be doubted that judgment would be conceived of as distress, since their high degree of certainty of salvation and strongly positive predestinarian ideas would preclude the concept of negative or "distressful" judgment.

[60]In lines 1-4 many translators add an infinitive of suffering to be parallel to לרצת. Dahood, op. cit., p. xxxiv,

according to the measure of truth and the rule and/or norm of the time."

This קץ has a particular quality in Qumran. Not only may it be the special measure of calendrical time used there but it signifies the fact that time partakes in the present of the qualities of eschatological significance. The community of Qumran interpreted their time as also that time immediately preceding or even within the decisive, definitive and final events which belong to an apocalyptic community.[61] Thus the council is also the council for the last days and is referred to as "an eternal planting a holy house (= the temple) for Israel and a most holy congregation for Aaron, faithful (true) witnesses...to atone for the earth and punish the wicked (lines 5-7)." This council is further described in images similar to those of Isaiah 28:16 as: "a tested wall, a precious cornerstone whose foundations shall not be shaken..." (lines 7-8).[62]

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points out that as in Ugaritic poetic construction there can be "double duty" prepositions. Thus the prepositional bet of בעושי משפט (line 3) carries over to וצרת מצרף (line 4) (= בעושי משפט ו[ב]צרת מצרף), if such a principle is applied in this passage, as Dahood does in many passages in the canonical Psalter. It would then be unnecessary to translate (in lines 3-4) "to expiate iniquity by the practice of justice and [to suffer] the sorrows of מצרף"; but the preposition can simply be carried over, i.e.: "to atone for sin by the practicing of justice and by suffering מצרף."

[61] ALQ, pp. 198ff., cf. pp. 237.

[62] Among the changes of adaptations of the citation are the replacement of אבן (stone, foundation stone, cornerstone) of Is. 28:16 by חומה (wall--possibly associated from Is. 26:1 where walls are the image for salvation; and Is. 26:1f. is cited in 1QS viii.3 [also "in the land"]).

Thus a function of the council for the community which considers itself to be living in the last days is expiation and atonement for the land and this is effected in part through suffering the distress of מצרף. Column viii continues in a kind of democratization of the council to include the whole holy community. This as well as utilization of the imagery of Isaiah 28:16 recalls similar usage in 1 Peter 2:4-5.[63]

In the War Scroll there are four passages containing מצרף. The first occurs as 1QM xvi.15.[64] Although the reading מצרף must be reconstructed the context as can be seen in xvi.11 is that of a defeat by the Sons of Darkness interpreted as being <u>according to God's mysteries to test</u> (ברזי אל בחון) the Sons of Light. Then the chief priest exhorts the army of the Sons of Light to strengthen their hearts. Line 15 might read: "The heart of his people he tests with מצרף (מרף ב[יבחן ב עמו (ל[ב] for you have heard (16) <u>the mysteries of God</u>... (ברזי אל)."

Column xvii.1 continues this theme and describes the temporarily defeated army as those tested (בחוני) in a מצרף

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[63] ALQ, pp. 231f., esp. p. 232, n.79.

[64] Professor Cross agrees with this reading. (Cf. E. L. Sukenik and N. Avigad (eds.), The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University (1955) [= trans. of <u>ʾôṣar hammĕgillôt haggĕnûzôt</u> (1954) = OMG], Plate 31.) It occurs in a line where only the very tops of the letters are preserved and their outline is at the top margin where the rest of the column is missing in this area. The column, xvi, has no writing on lines 2 and 10 and this has led to some confusion in the numbering of the lines. Thus, for example, Yadin, The Scroll of the War... (Engl. transl., 1962) [= Yadin] counts line 15 of the Plate (cf. facsimile in OMG) as line 13. (Yadin reconstructs משפט.)

(masc. sg.). There is then further exhortation to be strong and not to fear. The enemy will be destroyed by God as he destroyed Nadab and Abihu (Lev. 10:1-6, cf. Dt. 3:4)--by fire. This day is the day when the prince of the dominion of wickedness will be humbled and by the help of the angel, Michael, the dominion of Israel will be established. Then follows a further direct exhortation in the face of defeat and danger, and here we find two occurrences of מצרף and the context is of particular interest for the study of 1 Peter 4:12:

1QM xvii.8-9...

(8) ...ואתם בני בריתו (9) התחזקו במצרף אל עד יניף ידו
[ו]מלא מצרפי[ ][65] רזיו למעמדכם

"But ye, sons of his covenant (9) be strong in (strengthen yourselves in) the מצרף (masc. sg.) of God until he lifts his

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[65]Professor Cross has suggested emending מצרפיו to the plural construct, מצרפי, omitting the final waw. As can be seen in OMG, Plate 32, the last three words on line 9 are quite clear: the yod and waw are plainly to be distinguished in רזיו. In Cross, "The Development...," op. cit., Figure 2, line 4 [p. 176], and in Yadin, op. cit., Figure 20 p. 254 the scripts of 1QM are reproduced from tracings of photographs and yod is distinctly shorter than waw; while in this early Herodian formal script the heads of the waw and yod are almost identical. In 1QM xvii.9 it is hard to distinguish the last two letters of מצרפיו, as the penultimate letter seems to be attached (ligature) to the pe. It may thus be a waw connected or a yod which is shorter both in itself and because it is connected. According to Cross, ibid., pp. 228f. re: waw and yod: "While theoretically the head of yod is larger than that of waw, the tail shorter, ligatured forms tend to minimize these distinctions." But it is quite possible that the scribe has added an additional waw after a yod either simply as repetition or as anticipatory dittography on the analogy of the following word.

hand (cf. Is. 11:15) and accomplishes his mysterious מצרפי (masc. pl. construct) concerning your position (station)."[66]

In this passage מצרף seems to refer to a trial or test involving defeat and suffering--and such a test is called a mystery of God or mysterious testings which in some way are connected with the station, office or position of those tested.[67] Since the context is one of admonition in trial

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[66] If the text were not emended but continued both מצרפיו and רזיו they could be taken in apposition: "...he will accomplish his מצרפיו (masc. pl. with 3 pers. sg. masc. suffix), his mysteries with respect to your (office) position." The emendation produces a smoother translation and a construct chain of this kind is frequent at Qumran. Cf. 1QM xvii.17, a conjecture: some will be slain [by (according to, through = ב)] the mysteries of God (...אל זי [בר]), Yadin's reconstruction).

[67] The translation of מצמד is given by Yadin as "existence" (cf. Maier, "Dasein"), ad loc. J. van der Ploeg, Le rouleau de la guerre (1959) translates "condition". Yadin indicates the "military" meaning of the term מצמד as applying to the organizational units of the sect and to the position of soldiers arrayed for combat (p. 146) but distinguishes מעמד in 1QM xvii.9 from this military terminology. He bases his translation on a comparison with 1QH ii.22 and explains it as a term "to designate the place allotted to man in the Divine Plan." [There is a misprint alluding to 1QH ii.21 in Yadin.] In 1QH ii.22 מעמד is translated by Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, op. cit., ad loc., as "stand" as do Holm-Nielsen and M. Mansoor (transl. with notes), The Thanksgiving Hymns (1961). Carmignac gives "(que) je reste debout", which is somewhat ambiguous. EWQ uses "my being" (which seems close to Yadin's "your existence" for מעמדכם in 1QM xvii.9). Maier translates 1QH ii.22 "mein Stand" but in his notes (Vol. II, ad loc.) gives numerous translations for different usages of מעמד in their respective passages. He includes: "Stand im Sinne von Bestand, Existenz: CD ii.9, iv.5; 1QM xvii.9" and adds: "Hier in 1QH ii.22: Existenz mit einem göttlichen Auftrag". Precisely how or why the term "existence" is used is not clear, particularly when it is then qualified both by Maier and Yadin as to what this "existence" means. See below, footnote 85, p. 40--the only occurrence of מעמד in the O.T. is Ps. 69:3

and defeat, the position or "stand" would appear to involve a positive hope or promise that the sons of the covenant will be among those eventually victorious, those in the "lot" of God, not of Belial, and this is their "station" in the world.

Yadin comments that in the expression "tested in the crucible" (בחוני מצרף) "crucible" "is frequent in the Dead Sea Scrolls as a symbol for the testing of the Sons of Light in the 'epoch of Belial'."[68] Elsewhere he translates xvii.9: "Be ye strong in God's affliction...." He goes on to say that the period of wickedness, i.e. the present time before the end-time under the dominion of Belial, "serves as a 'crucible' (מצרף) in which God tests his pious ones."[69] In this period the battle goes on between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, and this battle is part of the testing and suffering before the final victory. That the sons of the covenant are being encouraged would also mean that they will be found among those who <u>are</u> to be finally victorious, i.e. that their position is with the right side (and their "office" in the world is connected with this), in the lot not of Belial but of God, that they are indeed in this place as a part of God's mysterious plan for his own--which includes suffering.[70] That

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(ואין מעמד = "there is no standing"; RSV 69:2 "there is no foothold").

[68] Yadin, ad loc.

[69] Ibid., p. 221.

[70] Cf. 1QH ix.10,23 and M. Wallenstein (reconstructed,

is, of course, in good agreement with the general theology of the sect of Qumran: that it is a part of the will of God and his good pleasure or choice (רצון) and a wonderful mystery (רז) that man is chosen to be predestined to the lot (גורל) of the holy ones, (1QH xi.9-12), cf. 1QpHab. vii.8, 1QH fr. iii.7 and fr. 1,2-3 where Ringgren in these fragments reconstructs the sense that "not even the angels can grasp these mysteries"--cf. 1P 1:12.[71]

This admonition 1QM xvii.8-9 is of interest as compared with 1P 4:12-19. In 4:12 there is a trial or testing which is connected with suffering and eventual vindication by the will of God 1P 4:19.[72]

In 1QH v.16[73] the image of being brought into a מצרף as gold in the works of the fire (במצרף כזהב במעשי אש) is commented on by Holm-Nielsen: "The inspiration for the whole of this line is Mal. 3:3...It is possible that this illustration should only be understood as an expression of cleansing, but it cannot be excluded, however, that it contains an idea of purification through suffering. This thought, which has its origin in the O.T., is a popular motive [sic] in the Late

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vocalized, transl. with notes), The Nezer and the Submission in Suffering Hymn from the Dead Sea Scrolls (1957) on: 1QH viii.4-ix.36.

[71] Ringgren, Faith of Qumran, op. cit., p. 61; cf. Ringgren, Handskrifterna..., op. cit., p. 104.

[72] See Introduction above, pp. xxxix f.

[73] See above, p. 25f.

Jewish wisdom poetry, considered both individually and collectively...cf. Wisd. 3:5-6, Sir. 2:5. In the N.T. as well, the thought appears in Hebr. 12:4ff., 1P 1:6-7 and 4:12."[74]

In 1QH fr.18, line 4 the expression **וברורי מצרף** occurs but there are not enough lines to determine a context. Holm-Nielsen points out that in Dan. 11:35 and 12:10 **ברר** appears parallel to **צרף**[75] but this is not unexpected. "Those purified [in a] **מצרף** (masc. sg.)" simply confirms the use of **מצרף** with a verb of purification.[76]

Far more significant to the study of **מצרף** at Qumran and the light it may shed on the use of πύρωσις in 1P 4:12 is the occurrence of **מצרף** in 4QpPs.37 ii.18f.[77] the pesher on Ps. 37:14-15 (The wicked have drawn the sword and bent their bow to bring down the needy and to slay the upright. Their sword shall enter their own heart and their bows shall be broken). (18) Its interpretation concerns (**פשרו על**) the wicked of

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[74]Holm-Nielsen, p. 96, n.42.

[75]Ibid., p. 271.

[76]Licht, Thanksgiving Scroll, op. cit., ad loc.,(p. 240), reads lines 3-4:

...ואבקשי בינה
עוני וברורי מצרף

A judgment context is, perhaps, implied if the translation is: "...those who search for insight...my iniquity, and those who have been purified [in ?] a **מצרף**..."

[77]The arrangement and reconstruction as done by H. Stegemann, "Der Pešer Psalm 37 aus Höhle 4 von Qumran (4QpPs.37)," RQ4 (1963-64), 235-70, takes into account all the prior haphazard partial publications of fragments of this text.

Ephraim and Manasseh who will seek to lay hands (19) on the priest and the men of his council at the time of the מצרף (masc. sg.) which will come[78] upon them (בעת המצרף הבאה עליהם) but God will ra[ns]om[79] them (20) from their hands and afterwards [ ][80] they will be given into the hand of the terrifying nations for judgment (למשפט)."

The pronominal suffix of עליהם (upon them) could refer both to the good or the evil, as מצרף, similar to פקודה, visitation, appears to be vindication for the good and punishment for the wicked. The context here is clearly that of persecution of the sect (אביון, line 16), the Priest-leader or the Righteous Teacher and the men of his council, probably by Jewish enemies who are followers of the Wicked Priest. This time of persecution--interpreted in all probabilities eschatologically by the sect--is described as עת המצרף הבאה. Thus,

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[78]The tenses of verbs in the Qumran commentaries cannot simply be determined by the actual tenses of the verb. Cross notes in ALQ: "...the tense of the verb is taken from the psalm quoted. The use of tenses in the commentaries is rarely helpful in interpretation, since predictions are being expounded, and the writer often shifts his point of view from that of scripture to that of his own time and vice versa," p. 158, n.98 (Cross's italics). In this case the "future" seems warranted, as the events appear in an "eschatological" framework.

[79]In Stegemann, op. cit., p. 250, and on photographs of this column the reading seems clearly to be: יפ[ד]ם. (Cf. J. M. Allegro, "Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect," JBL75 [1956], plate facing p. 91.)

[80]As Stegemann notes, ibid., p. 250, n.65, there is a somewhat large space between ואחר and כן which might have indicated some lack of certainty to the copyist as to whether it should read ואחרי כן or simply ואחר כן, both of which are attested in Biblical Hebrew for "afterwards".

the time of the מצרף that is to come upon them may be both the persecution of the apocalyptic community--some particular trial or ordeal interpreted eschatologically--from which they, the elect, will emerge vindicated; or, from the point of view of the wicked the judgment or destruction which the enemies of the elect will experience negatively. (If 1P 4:12 is compared: "Ἀγαπητοί, μὴ ξενίζεσθε τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γινομένῃ ..." it is obviously the elect community, the beloved, who are addressed and the πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόν, the trial for their testing, refers to that which will occur among the elect; and the context in 1P 4 is clearly a joyous final outcome for the elect.)

An expression similar to בעת המצרף הבאה of 4QpPs.37 ii.19 occurs in 4QFlor. ii.1: היאה עת המצרף הבא]אה. This is the time of מצרף (masc. sg.) which will come. Once again this is a commentary (פשר); on Ps. 2:1-2, a text describing the kings of the earth and princes who will take counsel against Yahweh and his anointed. The interpretation of such a situation is that it is battle against the elect of Israel at the end of days..(i.19)באחרית הימים, i.e. עת המצרף הבאה and this (ii.2) is in a context involving Belial. Once again, therefore, עת המצרף has an eschatological setting--a struggle against the Lord and his elect in the end of days.

Similar expressions for the end-time are frequent at Qumran. In 4QpIs^{b} ii.2 עת פקדת הארץ refers to the final judgment of the wicked in a pesher on Is. 5:8-10. This expression,

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"time of visitation" (as does time of מצרף) has the double sense of visitation of punishment on the wicked and vindication of the righteous. It also occurs in CD xix.10-11: קץ הפקודה (הראשון) where it depicts the salvation of the community, the poor, at the time (קץ and עת are used almost interchangeably) of visitation and the destruction of the wicked at the coming of the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel. Zech. 13:7 is cited in support of such interpretation, a passage which continues with the imagery of final judgment in terms of refining and trying of precious metals in the fire (vss.8-9).

In the Damascus Document at a point where cols.vii and xix are put together in the eclectic text of Rabin[81] there are two occurrences of קץ הפקודה. Separating these out CD vii.21 refers to a former visitation (בקץ הפקודה) in which the faithful were saved and apostates were given up to the sword. This is a threat to the members of the covenant who are unfaithful and will be visited for destruction by the hand of Belial (CD viii.2 = xix.14/15). In Ms.B, after a quotation from Zech. 13:7, the humble of the flock are those who will be saved at the time of the visitation (בקץ הפקדה CD xix.10), whereas the others shall be delivered up to the sword when the Anointed of Aaron and Israel shall come...[82]

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[81] C. Rabin (ed., transl. with notes), The Zadokite Documents (1958[2]) [= Rabin].

[82] Ibid., p. 79 (Appendix).

The expression the final or last time (קץ האחרון) occurs in 1QpHab. vii.7.12 and is a pesher on Hab. 2:3b to the effect that if the final time delays, all things are in the hands of God--it is part of his mystery. The same phrase, קץ אחרון, occurs in 1QS iv.16f. where the two spirits and two lots are described for mankind until the final end-time. Time before the end-time is under the dominion of Belial and is a time of wickedness (קץ הרשעה as in 1QpHab. v.7), after which the end will come as a time of judgment (cf. קץ משפט, 1QH vi.29). This time of wickedness is also described as being before the coming of the Righteous Teacher at the end of days (CD vi.10), until the coming of the Anointed of Aaron and Israel (CD xii.23) or as the time of wickedness (CD xv.7) before the end when Belial still has power.[83]

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[83]Among occurrences of קץ, the expression קץ מעמדם in CD iv.5 was noted. Because of the difficulty in translation of the word מעמדכם in 1QM xvii.9, this other occurrence of מעמד with a word of possible eschatological significance was further investigated. In CD iv.5 קץ מעמדם is translated in a number of ways: Rabin, "the time of their existence"; Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls..., op. cit., "the time when they lived"; Maier, "die Zeit ihres Auftretens (Dienstes)"; Carmignac, "l'époque de leur existence" and various other interpretations by other translators. Most translators refer to CD ii.9 in which שני מעמד is similarly translated as "year of [their] sojourn (or: existence)" but the notes do not show in any case why מעמד has any meaning of "existence"; and thus application to 1QM xvii.9 is limited or absent. In dealing with 4QpNah. i.3 Cross (ALQ, p. 123) translates עמוד as "accession", pointing (footnote 26, p. 123) to the regular technical sense of עמד of "taking office". He goes on to apply this to מעמד with the usage: "station, office". Professor Cross has pointed out in a personal communication (June 14, 1966) that in CD iv.4 the expression קריאי השם העמדים באחית הימים = "The elect

A time of distress or affliction עת צרה is the description of the final eschatological battle between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, the final war (1QM i.11, xv.1; cf. Dan. 12:1).

In CD xx.27 the final visitation upon the unfaithful of the community when the glory of God appears to Israel is punishment because they (the unfaithful) had been wicked in the days of מצרפותיו (fem. pl. with third pers. masc. sg. suffix). Having failed in the days of His (God's) testing (or: purgings) they are cast out. Here the image בימי מצרפותיו is of the end-time judgment or purification which separates the dross from the precious metal (cf. Jer. 6:29). But once again מצרף appears to be the image for a final test leading to salvation or punishment at the end-time. The evil are separated out from the good.

It is to be noted that in Qumran forms of מצרף are given with both feminine and masculine plural forms. In CD xx.27 it was feminine plural with a suffix, in 1QM xvii.9 it is

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of the Name who shall come to power in the end of days"; that similarly CD iv.5 קץ מעמדם = "the age when they shall (come into their own) hold sway"; and in CD ii.9 שני מעמד = "years of [their: the wicked] sway". Thus in each case the sense of עמד and מעמד in their meaning of "office" is consistently carried through. He further notes, in support of this translation--one which can satisfactorily be applied to 1QM xvii.9--the obvious eschatological significance for the elect and for the wicked in CD ii.5 חמה גדולה בלהבי אש, "great wrath through fiery flames" (cf. Is. 66:15) where God has condemned the impious in this manner. These translations meet the requirement of the normal usage of the word מעמד and are adequate for the context of 1QM xvii.9, as it was used and translated above, p. 32.

masculine. The fact that there are occurrences of these two plurals מצרפות and מצרפים (מצרפיו, 1QM xvii.9) leads to the question as to whether there might be two different singular words from which they have been formed, possibly מצרפת* (f.) and מצרף (m.).[84] It is indeed possible that these forms are in some way different from the O.T. מצרף. Since the usage of מצרף at Qumran differs vitally and consistently from that of the "furnace" in the O.T. it would appear that מצרף at Qumran might have developed into a far more technical meaning as a trial of the end-time than the O.T. meaning could indicate. Flusser remarks that מצרף is a "sectarian terminus technicus" (המונח הכיתתי) at Qumran. Based on the image of the refining and purifying of metal he gives the occurrences of מצרף in the sectarian documents and points out that it is an accepted and normal sectarian term.[85] Carmignac notes: "L'image de la 'fournaise' est usuelle à Qumran pour décrire des épreuves 'cuisantes', spécialement celles qui sont infligées aux justes sous la domination de Bélial."[86] Yadin, while translating

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[84]From the feminine plural form, Professor Cross's conjecture of a possible singular is: מצרפת*.

[85]D. Flusser, "The Baptism of John and the Dead Sea Sect," in C. Rabin and Y. Yadin (eds.), Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of E. L. Sukenik (1961), p. 227, n.50. [In Hebrew.] I am grateful to Dr. Avi Hurvitz for having translated part of this article for my use.

[86]Carmignac, p. 215, n.30 on 1QH v.16. Carmignac, "La théologie de la souffrance dans les Hymnes de Qumran," RQ3 (1961/62), p. 384, n.72 adds in discussing this passage: "...la 'fournaise' est une image usuelle à Qumran pour désigner

"crucible" continues to the effect that מצרף is "frequent in the Dead Sea Scrolls as a symbol for the testing of the Sons of Light in the 'epoch of Belial'."[87] Stegemann also refers to מצרף as a terminus technicus for the "endzeitliche Drangsal...."[88]

From an examination of each passage containing מצרף in the sectarian writings of Qumran it is now possible to assign a translation or paraphrase in accord with consistent themes in all the passages. Clearly מצרף at Qumran has associated with it many of the same motifs as those around כור in the O.T. with its metaphorical usage. But there is a gap between מצרף "furnace" in the O.T. and its use at Qumran. As a result, although the study of Prv. 17:3 and 27:21 was instructive in helping equate כור and מצרף, there is a clear shift in meaning from מצרף in its O.T. usage to its meaning in the sectarian writings of Qumran. In seeking a Greek equivalent for מצרף, πύρωσις is the most appropriate term,[89] but the Qumran usage of מצרף provides the specific context in which πύρωσις is used in 1P 4:12. The concept πύρωσις/ מצרף has a technical meaning: THE trial of the end-time, the eschatological ordeal or test. It is the time or situation of the testing which the

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les luttes qui accompagneront la destruction des impies et la délivrance des justes."

[87] Yadin, p. 339, note on 1QM xvii.1.

[88] Stegemann, op. cit., p. 260, n.143.

[89] See reference to A. Fridrichsen, pp. 90 and 91 , below.

faithful members of God's elect apocalytpc community must undergo before they are vindicated and the dominion of Belial comes to an end. Regardless of whether the trials accompanying the time of מצרף are represented or expected in terms of some actual persecution or other distress, or whether they are depicted in terms of an eschatological final and definitive battle of the Sons of Light and the angelic hosts against the Sons of Darkness and the host of Belial, the meaning of the term מצרף does not change. It denotes final testing (using an underlying common O.T. image of purification through fire).

The passages in which מצרף occurs can now be translated or paraphrased in these terms:

1QS i.17: Members must not turn back because of any dread or terror or <u>ordeal</u> which will come upon them when they are tested under the dominion of Belial. That the ordeal or test has eschatological context is demonstrated by the use of "dominion of Belial" (i.18); although this passage is somewhat less or more weakly eschatological than the following examples.

1QS viii.4: The council of the community (and eventually by a sort of democratization, the whole community) makes expiation for sin by suffering end-time trials and the distress of eschatological testing.

1QM xvi.15: There is suffering in the final war according to God's mystery and this suffering is considered part of the testing and purification of the Sons of Light in the last times.

1QM xvii.1: The temporarily defeated Sons of Light are described as those tested in the final ordeal after which victory and final vindication will come.

1QM xvii.8-9: The sons of the covenant are exhorted to be strong in God's end-time testing until he intervenes in their behalf and completes his mysterious trials in order that they may finally be among the lot of God and not of Belial. Part of the mystery of testing is necessary suffering and that is their vocation, station or office.[90] Their position or stand has to do with being in the group predestined to be saved. The passage could also be understood to mean, then, that part of the mystery is that related to the station of the group to be saved. This is accomplished partly by God's mysterious will for the community,his choice and election and partly by their obedient steadfastness in the face of trial to which the sons of the covenant are enjoined.

1QH v.16: The member of the community is caused to enter the end-time trials as gold and silver are purified by smelting. Suffering and endurance are part of the way of the faithful member of the community of the last days. Purification through suffering may be part of this idea (cf. Wisd. 3:5-6, Sir. 2:5, 1P 1:6-7, 4:12).

4QpPs.37 ii.19: The final time of trial which will come in the community is experienced under the form of persecution

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[90] See footnote 83, p. 40.

and God will vindicate his own. That such an end-time ordeal is not totally unexpected is supported by the pesher on Ps. 37:11; the community will accept the season of affliction-- (4QpPs.37 ii.10: עדת האביונים אשר יקבלו את מועד התענית) and then be delivered from the snares of Belial. Such acceptance[91] is reminiscent of the term "volunteer" as a designation for membership in the community.[92]

Expectation of trials before the end is not foreign to the eschatological climate of thought of this period. The expectation of possible suffering is similar to 1P 4:12: μὴ ξενίζεσθε...ὡς ξένου ὑμῖν συμβαίνοντος concerning the πύρωσις which is coming upon the Christian community πρὸς πειρασμόν.

4QFlor. ii.1; The time of final testing is that which is expected at the end of days before Belial is once for all overcome.

CD xx.27: The days of His purgings or testings must be endured faithfully; the unfaithful members of the community will not be saved.

In all these passages the meaning is an ordeal of the end-time, the situation of affliction and suffering which must

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[91]The Piel of קבל may mean "accept" or "assume" (an obligation.

[92]Cf. 1QS v.1,6,8,10,21f. (המתנדבים) and i.7,11 (הנדבים) as cited in F. Nötscher, Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte (1956), p. 175; see also Nötscher, "Schicksalsglaube in Qumran und Umwelt," BZ3 (1959), 204-34; 4 (1960), 98-121; and Ringgren, Faith of Qumran, op. cit., p. 109f. (Cf. also Judges 5:2 בהתנדב and 5:9 המתנדבים.)

be endured before final victory. According to the will of God and through his mystery the community will be able to endure and be saved. Thus מצרף at Qumran is a terminus technicus for this final trial, testing or ordeal of the apocalyptic community which is expected to result in the vindication of the elect. If מצרף is a terminus technicus at Qumran, it should be able to carry its meaning without adjacent explanatory references to fire or burning or the imagery of the refining fire where dross is separated from precious metals.[93]

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[93] A study was made of some 33 occurrences of forms of צרף in the O.T. and of its main synonym בחן; as well as of זקק, and of ברר, טהר, פקד and נסה where there were parallels: the main Greek equivalents were noted as well as the associated imagery. Of 33 occurrences of forms of צרף 19 are rendered by a form of πυρόω and what is refined is most frequently silver although gold-smith (χρυσοχοός) does occur 4 times. Once Gideon's "water ordeal" to choose his army (Jud. 7:4) uses צרף with מים. The 28 occurrences of בחן are rendered 13 times by δοκιμάζω and twice gold is the object purified--but more often man and his heart and thoughts. Once the proof at the waters of Meribah (Ps. 81:8) is noted. Another parallel זקק occurs 7 times and may be refined gold or silver. The verbs טהר, פקד, נסה, שפט, חקר, ידע and ברר also appear with parallels to testing, proving, examining and purifying man and his heart. Of some 93 occurrences studied the word אש as an adjunct occurred only in Mal. 3:2-3 (with צרף, טהר and זקק), Zech. 13:9 (with צרף and בחן), Jer. 6:29 (with צרף) and in Ps. 66:10 where בחן and צרף occur and where verse 12 is: באנו-באש ובמים. Is. 66:15-16 were not included in the study as no word of refining occurs but the description of the coming of the Lord is with fire, flames of fire and contending by fire and the sword. Sir. 27:5, 2:5 and Wisd. 3:5-6 also deal with refining without specific mention of fire. These results are not unexpected as the various roots for refining, smelting and purifying bear within themselves the means of such action and if heat or fire is involved it need not be specifically mentioned. If it is, it might well be in poetic usage, not necessary explication. At Qumran, however, references to fire (אש) are frequently in a context of eternal

In the passages cited, "to burn" דלק (1QM xvii.1) may simply be a continuation of or introduction to known imagery but the context is too broken to tell. In 1QH v.16 מצרף is defined in a long appositional explanation and it is doubtful that such explanation is "necessary" but rather is to be seen as typical of the style of the psalmist who draws so heavily on the canonical Psalter.[94]

The term, מצרף, as a <u>nomen actionis</u> has its closest Greek equivalent in πύρωσις. Whatever basic form or forms is posited (מצרף or *מצרפת [< מצרפות]), the concept is that of the very situation of the sect: living in the time of the end-time trial or trials at the end of the dominion of Belial and when the fight between the children of light and those of darkness

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punishment (1QH vi.18, viii.17-20, viii.12, CD ii.5) and judgment (1QpHab. x.5.13, 1QS ii.8 and iv.13), and persecution (1QH ii.26). But again references containing verbs of purification and smelting images need not spell out the method (1QS i.12 ברר; 1QS iv.18ff. טהר, זקק, ברר). That מצרף at Qumran does occur twice spelled out in terms of fire or burning does not, therefore, appear to lessen its impact as a <u>terminus technicus</u> for an end-time ordeal expressed in the imagery of a refining or smelting situation--but it need not depend on this association as it has a fairly constant content and concept of its own.

[94]In 1QH v.16 מצרף carries with it its own definition in terms of Ps. 12:7 cf. Sir. 43:4; Dan. 3:19,22; and Zech. 13:9. In 1QH v.7,9,11,13 and 19 the psalmist also uses the imagery of being delivered from the mouth, dwelling or power of lions to depict his being rescued from personal adversity, or the community from some corporate trial. This image could also be applied to mean that the "lions" are the instruments of God's punishment of the wicked. Daniel being saved in the lions' den (Dan. 6:17-24) illustrates the power of God to save his faithful from the intrument of punishment that would devour the wicked (cf. 1P 5:8).

is most fierce. The word depicts as much a life situation as a concept of ordeal. The eschatology of the sect is well expressed in their consciousness of living in a time of מצרף. In the O.T. מצרף, "crucible," is infrequent; at Qumran a derived meaning which is actually closer to the metaphorical use of כור, its O.T. synonym, has replaced the O.T. meaning and it is used with relative frequency. This Qumran meaning of מצרף appears translated into the Greek as πύρωσις in its figurative use in the N.T. and early Christian literature in 1P 4:12 and Did. 16:5.

[For observations on fire imagery and eschatological baptism with fire, see Excursus III, below, pp. 119-123.]

III. Πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόν in 1 Peter 4:12

Despite the availability and "appropriateness" of fire imagery for the trials of the end-time as depicted in Qumran and in the metaphors of both the O.T. and the N.T. concerning the end of days, and the messianic woes preceding this time, the actual word מצרף at Qumran and πύρωσις in its single metaphorical occurrence in the N.T. need have no particularly "fiery" connotation.[95] The fact that the image may have originally derived from that of metals to separate out the pure from the dross and refine them does not make the image

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[95]It is to be noted that in 1QH iii.19-36 with its description of tribulation and of cosmic conflagration, the word מצרף does not occur.

partake of any literal sense of purification by heating or smelting. The emphasis is rather on the fact of the trial and utmost end-time testing involving suffering and endurance: the righteous are vindicated and the wicked punished. Such suffering may be in the form of persecution from without, loss of faith within (Mt. 24:12), cosmic cataclysm, or any trial which must be endured before the end of days. The trial or end-time test, מצרף, at Qumran and the πύρωσις of 1P 4:12 do not depend on any particular "temperature"--but rather temper, a consistent faithful disposition or stance in the face of suffering to be endured.

The image of testing in 1P 1:6-7 that (6) ...λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς, (7) ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου, εὑρεθῇ... simply explicates in terms of purification by smelting the description in 1P 4:12, where this situation is described as πύρωσις.

If, indeed, it was the understanding of the writer or final redactor of the first Epistle of Peter that πύρωσις connoted the final end-time trial or ordeal through which the eschatological community must pass before the consummation of the new age, why then is there a further explanation or description in terms of: ...τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γινομένῃ...?

It has been predicated here that מצרף as used in the sectarian writings of Qumran is a term which was available in

the conceptual milieu of the most primitive stage of the formation of the early church and its theological speculations. It has further been predicated that in writing to the church (perhaps of the early 2nd Century) the redactor of 1 Peter cast his exhortation and testimony (5:12) in the form of a "testament" to use the authority of Peter, apostle and martyr, and to deal appropriately with the situation of Christians living as "sojourners of the dispersion" (1:1) in the world. He no doubt utilized traditions of greater antiquity than those of his own time--indeed, a certain deposit of tradition going back perhaps to a "Petrine" tradition which might have retained certain Semitic features.[96] The term, מצרף, with its eschatological force as used at Qumran and perhaps in other contemporaneous apocalyptic communities was translated into a Greek equivalent deemed appropriate. But this Greek word used in a figurative sense required further explanation in the form of an appositional phrase, because of the distance of time and language.

A. Greek Manuscript Tradition re: πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόν in 1P 4:12:

1P 4:12 with its variant readings (including the early Syriac version) gives evidence concerning the understanding and interpretation of πύρωσις and πειρασμός in the course of

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[96]See above, Introduction, pp. xv, xviff.

the transmission of the text. P^{72} (Bodmer Papyrus VIII) is the earliest witness to the Greek text of 1 Peter, dating from the 3rd Century. It is an uncial, probably written in Egypt by a scribe whose native language was Coptic. This scribe, although somewhat careless, produced a text with numerous easily corrected errors and itacisms. The underlying text was, however, of high quality and of particular interest in that it is prior to the great recensions from which all the other Greek witnesses derive.[97] P^{72} has many singular readings and its evidence may possibly alter the balance of probability in some passages by its support of known variants.[98]

Based in part on Massaux's collation of readings using P^{72},[99] and the variants listed by von Soden,[100] Tischendorf[101]

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[97] See: F. W. Beare, "The Text of 1 Peter in Papyrus 72," JBL80 (1961), p. 253. Cf. M. Testuz (ed.), Papyrus Bodmer VII-IX (1959). Cf. also Beare, "Some Remarks on the Text of 1 Peter in the Bodmer Papyrus (P^{72})," in F. L. Cross (ed.), Studia Evangelica III: Second International Congress on N.T. Studies, Christ Church, Oxford, 1961; Part II: The New Testament Message (1964), pp. 263-65 [= TU 88].

[98] The readings in P^{72} will be discussed and applied in 1P 1:7 and 5:2 passages which are relevant in the context of 1P 4:12. See above, pp. xiii and xxxvii (in Introduction), cf. 58, n. 117.

[99] E. Massaux, "Le texte de la I^a Petri du papyrus Bodmer VIII (P^{72})," EphThLov39 (1963), pp. 616f., 620, 658-71.

[100] H. von Soden (ed.), Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments, II (1913), pp. 624-35.

[101] C. Tischendorf (ed.), Novum Testamentum Graece. Editio octava critica major, vol. II (1872), pp. 273-300.

and those of the Nestle-Aland eclectic text[102] there are no significant variants[103] and the Nestle text may be accepted as representing by far the majority of witnesses with a firm manuscript tradition.

B. The Peshitta Syriac Version of 1P 4:12:

The Peshitta Syriac (late iv, early v Century)[104] version renders πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόνin such a way as to be an ambiguous witness as to the meanings of πύρωσις and πειρασμός and their relationship to each other in 1P 4:12: ḥbyby, l' ttdmrwn bnsywn' dhwyn lkwn; 'yk dmdm nwkry gdš lkwn, mṭl dlbwḥrnkwn hw hwyn. My beloved (plural), do not be amazed at the temptations[105](nsywn'/πειρασμοί) that come upon you; as something strange (sing.) happening to you, because [= do not think it strange because] it (sing.) is (pl.ptc.) for your testing

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[102]Erwin Nestle-K. Aland (eds.), Novum Testamentum Graece cum apparatu critico curavit Eberhard Nestle novis curis elaboraverunt (25th ed., 1963).

[103]Although the textual variants in the Greek manuscripts are not significant for the interpretation of πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόν, they are of sufficient interest to be at least superficially observed. See Appendix A, below, pp. 124-127.

[104]See: B. M. Metzger, The Text of the New Testament (1964), pp. 69f.; Metzger, art. "Versions, ancient: The Peshitta" in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible IV (1962), p. 759; and A. Souter-C. S. C. Williams, The Text and Canon of the New Testament (1954^2), pp. 50-57.

[105]Whether nsywn' is singular or plural depends on the construction of the sentence rather than any "pointing," since the "pointing" tradition is much later than the fixing of the consonantal text.

(πύρωσις /bwḥrnkwn).

The Peshitta of 1 Peter would be likely to be an independent translation of the Greek since it was not included in the Old Syriac version of which other parts of the Peshitta may well be a revision. There are no major textual variants in the Greek as to the order or number of πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόν The Peshitta may be expected to be a fairly literal translation of the Greek.[106] According to van Puyvelde: "Le texte de la peshitto du N.T. n'a pas encore été étudié de près. D'une manière générale il est plus fidèle au grec que l'ancienne version syriaque et moins servile que les versions savantes postérieures."[107] Indeed, the Philoxenian is more literal than the Peshitta and the Herclean version of the Philoxenian is more literal still. Whether these latter two versions are separate or whether one is a revision of the other is of no importance here.[108] The tendency would seem to be toward increasingly literal translation from the Old Syriac onward. But

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[106]As in the O.T., the manner and literalness of translation of each N.T. book in the Peshitta should be independently studied. Not much information is available in reference works. In the opinion of Professor Cross, however, the syr^{pesh} is in general to be expected to be a literal translation, and especially in the New Testament.

[107]Cl. van Puyvelde, art. "[Versions] Orientales de la Bible, VI Versions syriaques," in Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible, VI (1960), col. 874.

[108]See: Souter-Williams, op. cit., pp. 56-57. Cf. Metzger, The Text..., op. cit., pp. 69-71.

the Peshitta translation of 1P 4:12 seems to be "more paraphrastic" than would be expected. Torrey credits the translator with "painstaking accuracy and splendid skill."[109] But the phrases corresponding to πύρωσις and to πρὸς πειρασμόν are not only separated but also in reverse order to the occurrence of the words in Greek, with what looks like an added explanatory phrase at the end. A possible but not very likely explanation of the structure of the syr^{pesh} translation is: ...do not be amazed b ("at") nsywn'...as something strange (sing.) happening meṭṭul (preposition = "because of") de (relative particle = "that which") is l (preposition = "for") bwḥrnkwn -(h)û (copula for the de clause). This might be translated: Do not be amazed at the nsywn' as something strange..."because of that which is (coming) to test (mṭl dlbwḥrnkwn) you. This is not, however, a truly adequate solution as it is doubtful that meṭṭul de could = the πρός in 1P 4:12.[110]

The noun, bwḥrn' from the root bḥr, may mean "trial, visitation, proving by test, crucible". It occurs three times in 1 Peter--4:12, 2:12 (for "scrutiny" [of conduct and good works] --ἐποπτεύοντες) and 1:7 (for τὸ δοκίμιον the "proving" of faith). The noun bwḥrn' also occurs as a Syro-Hexaplaric

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[109] C. C. Torrey, Documents of the Primitive Church (1941), p. 289.

[110] Professor Lambdin has graciously worked out for me this grammatical analysis and criticism.

reading in Prv. 27:21 where it renders πύρωσις.[111] The association of ideas: visitation,(with its positive and negative connotations), trial or proof by trial, and crucible--is close to the similar constellation of images of מצרף, πύρωσις.[112]

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[111] R. Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus I-II (1879-1901), see: bwḥr', 1 (under the root bḥr).

[112] The Syriac translation of the M.T. of Prv. 17:3:

ṣrp' bq' ls'm' wkwr' ldhb'
wmrn' bḥr lb'

Prv. 27:21:

ṣrp' bq' ls'm' wkwr' ldhb'
wgbr' mn pwm' dmšbḥywhy

To the first (identical) lines of these two proverbs the Peshitta Syriac (and Targum) adds a verb bq' (Targum: בקי) after ṣrp' H. Pinkuss, "Die syrische Übersetzungen der Proverbien," ZAW14 (1894), p. 184, notes that the Syriac almost always translates בחן (as in Prv. 17:3b) with bḥr and that צרף often occurs with בחן. He disagrees with A. J. Baumgartner, Etude critique sur l'etat du texte du livre des Proverbes d'apres les principales traductions anciennes (1890), p. 159--as to the necessity of postulating a reading of בחר for בחן in Prv. 17:3 on the basis of the Greek ἐκλεκτός since the usual rendering of בחן into Syriac is bḥr and the meaning ἐκλεκτός could just as well come from the Hebrew root בחן.

J. de Waard, A Comparative Study of the Old Testament in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament (1965) [= STDJ IV], pp. 54-60, compares the M.T. with the Isaiah Scrolls found at Qumran. In 1QS viii.7-8 there is a quotation of Is. 28:16 in which the verb בחן appears in both and is translated both in the LXX and in 1P 2:6 by ἐκλεκτός. Evidence from the Isaiah Scrolls is not given by de Waard at this point. It is clear, however, that the reading in the Isaiah Scroll from Qumran also has בחן (cf. Burrows, Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Vol. I, The Isaiah Manuscript, ad loc. [Plate XXII, line 20]).

Van Puyvelde (op. cit., col. 846) takes into account that the Peshitta of the O.T. differs from book to book. While there is some possibility that an Aramaic Targum may be the basis for the Peshitta in some books, according to Pinkuss, the Peshitta of Proverbs was the basis of the Targum on this book. But van Puyvelde writes: "Le traducteur de Prov. a travaillé sur un modèle hébreu, peu différent de notre texte

Lambdin has made an observation on the Syriac -(h)ô which clarifies the construction of the final clause in the syr^{pesh} of 1P 4:12 (...meṭṭul da. l. bûḥrānkôn -(h)ô hāwên) in which the -(h)ô is of a "rather special type, uncommon but by no means rare in N.T. Syriac.[113] The -(h)ô originally functioned as a real pronoun and then became a neutralized copula element with the function in verbal clauses to equate divided parts of the clause and has an emphasizing function. The verse in the pesh^{syr} of 1P 4:12 could then (in agreement with the usage of many other N.T. examples)[114] be translated correctly as it stands: "Friends, you should not be astonished at the trials which are (coming) for you, (nor regard them) as something strange, happening to you by accident, for it is (precisely) to test you that they (are coming)."[115]

There is a possible but, in this case, not too probable

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massorétique; il a pris avec son texte les mêmes libertés que celles que l'on constate dans Job et Ps. Comme dans Ps., l'influence des LXX est importante; elle s'est exercée soit par le traducteur (Pinkuss), soit par un correcteur (Baumgartner). ...la priorité de la peshitto sur le targum de Prov. ne ferait aucun doute (col. 846)."

[113]Professor Lambdin notes that in Coptic (cf. H. J. Polotsky, Études de syntaxe copte, Cairo [1944]) there are transformations of syntax for the purpose of emphasis. The -(h)ô effects a similar transformation in Syriac.

[114]Cf. in pesh^{syr} Rom. 3:28, 5:11, 3:31, 7:15; Jn. 3:34, et passim.

[115]T. O. Lambdin, "A Note on Syriac -(h)ô," to be published.

explanation of the phrase πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόν in the Greek--although on the basis of some understanding (from Qumran usage of מצרף) of πύρωσις as involving testing/temptation πύρωσις could stand alone in 1P 4:12. Perhaps the total expression πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόν was taken in an abstract sense and rendered with a plural concrete noun (πειρασμοί = nsywn'). The translator then may have explained that these nsywn' are for the testing of those who undergo them (mṭl dlbwḥrnkn hw hwyn).

But the apparent change in word equivalence since πειρασμός is rendered nsywn' in Syriac and the shift in the explanatory phrase (to the end of the verse) points to some difficulty.[116]

An examination of 1P 1:6-7 may prove to be one key to both the apparent strangeness of the translation in 4:12 and the way in which πειρασμός (and πύρωσις) might have been understood:

1P 1:6-7 ...ὀλίγον ἄρτι εἰ δέον λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς (bnsywn' [pl.] mshlp'), 7. ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον[117] (bwḥrn') ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου, εὑρεθῇ...

Clearly the imagery of these two passages is very similar--

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[116] An extreme example of such difficulty is encountered in 1P 4:15 where the hapax legomenon ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος is simply omitted from the syr^{pesh}. This is one of several ways the early versions can be useful--if only to show areas of confusion and that some terms were already difficult to understand.

[117] P^{72}, 314 (XI), 378 (XII) and 429 (XIV) have δόκιμον loco δοκίμιον. Beare, "The Text...", op. cit., p. 255 notes, however, that δοκίμιον (means of testing) and δόκιμον (genuine, proved) are interchangeable in the papyri of the period of P^{72}. So G. A. Deissmann, Bible Studies (Engl. transl., 1901), pp. 259-62, basing his observations on the Fayyum Papyrus documents.

of testing to be undergone as a proof of faith, of being a Christian who endures suffering that he may, in the image of the smelting of precious metals, be found even better than purest refined gold. But in 1P 1:6-7 ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς (a plural indicating many and varied trials) occurs first and is followed by the proof imagery. Might it not be that in 1:6-7 both the plural of nsywn' and its precedence of bwḥrn' influenced the order and, perhaps, even the interpretation of 4:12? Since the notation showing nsywn' to be a plural was added in a relatively late stage of the text, the sentence construction and the verb determine whether a word is singular or plural. The noun is plural in 1P 4:12 since the verbal form is plural.

Professor Cross, still maintaining that the Peshitta was a literal and careful translation of the Greek, suggests that the strange ordering of phrases in the Peshitta which differs from the Greek results from a textual error. The Peshitta reads:

bnsywn' dhwyn lkwn 'yk dmdm nwkry gdš
lkwn mṭl dlbwḥrnkwn hw hwyn

This variant order may be explained as an inner-Peshitta secondary development. The original Peshitta text,would have read:

bnsywn' dhwyn lkwn mṭl dlbwḥrnkwn
hw hwyn 'yk dmdm nwkry gdš lkwn

This would agree with the order of the Greek text, except for

the transposition of the terms nsywn' and bwḥrn. Such a text may have suffered haplography, lkwn to lkwn, thus omitting both metathesized phrases. The metathesis of the phrases would have taken place as a faulty restoration of the omitted material thus producing the form of the Peshitta now found.

The terms nsywn' and bwḥrn are transposed, if their meanings follow consistant N.T. usage, in the apparent translation of πύρωσις by nsywn' and πειρασμός by bwḥrn. Here again, metathesis of the words probably occurred when the text was copied from memory by a scribe who inadvertantly switched the terms under the influence of the order of the terms in 1P 1:6-7. (Such a metathesis of "synonyms" in a text copied from memory is a frequent phenomenon as, for example, in 1QIsa^{a}.) But attraction to 1P 1:6-7 and considering of πύρωσις and πειρασμός as "synonyms" could not have occurred if each of the words had a clearly defined and differentiated meaning at the time of the formation of the Peshitta.

According to Professor Strugnell, although the translation of πύρωσις by nsywn' and πειρασμός by bwḥrn is odd in N.T. usage, the grammatical construction of the syr^{pesh} is such that there is no doubt that the l (= πρός) goes with bwḥrn. He admits, however, that the equivalence of the Syriac to the Greek is unusual and could never be explained if πύρωσις and πειρασμός had retained characteristic and differentiated meanings. Thus he rejects an assumption of metathesis of synonyms

on grammatical grounds although admitting it is a text-critical possibility. That the transposition of terms may have come about by "attraction" to or under the influence of the order of their occurrence in 1P 1:6-7 is still a good explanation.

Thus, though the odd ordering of the phrases in the Peshitta is accounted for, the metathesis of terms would still suggest a certain confusion or lack of distinctive definition of πύρωσις and πειρασμός,[118] and is some evidence that before the 4th Century any such distinction was either not understood or simply lost. While the πειρασμοί are in an eschatological context in 1P 1:6f. (cf. ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ, 1:5; note also: ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς, 2:12) nevertheless they are the "trials" which accompany an eschatological time and they serve according to 1 Peter, as a test of faith (or: that this faith is proven, or approved). There is, therefore, not the same distinction between a time or situation including the final eschatological test (πύρωσις) and its manifestations (πειρασμοί) as has been postulated for 1P 4:12.

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[118] W. Nauck, "Freude im Leiden: zum Problem einer urchristlichen Verfolgungs-tradition," ZNW46 (1955), pp. 77f. cites Judith 8:25-27 (with πειράζω in v.25 and πυρόω in v.27 together with εὐχαριστήσωμεν in v.25) as a passage to be compared with 1P 4:12. In n.56 (p. 78) he writes: "Die Schwierigkeit einer genauen Distinktion der beiden Begriffe πύρωσις und πειρασμός liegt in der Sache selbst begründet. In dem Zitierten Abschnitt des Judithbuches werden die Verben πειράζειν und πυροῦν deutlich als Synonyma verwendet. Vgl. hierzu auch Dam 20:27: בימי מצרפותיו was ebenso gut mit ἐν ἡμέραις πυρώσεων αὐτοῦ wie mit ἐν ἡμέραις πειρασμῶν αὐτοῦ wiedergegeben werden könnte." He notes further that Wisd. 3:4-6 with πειράζω and δοκιμάζω is similar to 1P 1:6-7 (n.62, p. 78).

It is interesting to note that in the Syriac version of about one century later, the Philoxenian Syriac,[119] the text reads ...ḥabbîbay, lā tetdamrûn babûḥrānā (πύρωσις) da. b. kôn (which are in you) kad [not in the Greek and need not be, but it could = the meṭṭul də of the Peshitta] (when, since, because) lewāt (πρός) nesyûnā (πειρασμόν) lekôn (ὑμῖν) hāwê (γινομένῃ); 'a(y)k haw dəmeddem 'aksenāyā gādeš lekôn (as though something foreign is happening to you by accident). This is a translation adhering more literally to the Greek and, as can be seen, replaces the metathesized phrases and transposed words. Yet πύρωσις (bwḥrn) does not stand alone as some sort of terminus technicus but requires the explanatory πρὸς πειρασμόν(lewāt nesyûnā).

C. Occurrences of πειρασμός/nsywn' in the N.T.:

In the N.T. πειρασμός occurs 21 times. Of these 17 occur in the singular and 6 of the 17 are in the Gospels, referring to prayer not to be led into temptation, and in syr^{pesh} nsywn' (sg.) is used.[120] In Lk. 4:13 καὶ συντελέσας πάντα πειρασμόν

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[119] J. White (ed. and annotations), Acta apostolorum et Epistolarum tam catholicarum...versio Syriaca Philoxeniana-Tomus Primus: Actus Apostolorum et Epistolas Catholicas (1799), ad loc. (I should like to express my appreciation to Professor Lambdin for reading the text with me and providing a vocalized transliteration as well as explanation of the grammatical problems involved.)

[120] Words from the Syriac root (Pael) nsy are not used with complete consistency in the Peshitta to translate only πειράζω or πειρασμός : In 2Cor. 8:8 mns' translates δοκιμάζων. In 2Cor. 13:5 the root bw' translates πειράζω while nsy is

(nsywnwhy, pl.;--the one case of variance--[all] his temptations) ὁ διάβολος ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι καιροῦ--appears to be either a more idiomatic way to say the same thing as the Greek or to take into account the variety of different individual temptations Jesus had endured. Here, then, the use of the Syriac plural for the Greek singular seems explicable. Similarly in Lk. 22:28 the temptations (pl. both in Gk. and Syr.) refer to the various trials throughout which the disciples remained with Jesus. In Acts 20:19 πειρασμοί refers to the various trials endured by Paul in his mission (Syr. is also pl.) and in Gal. 4:14 Paul refers to his own illness as a temptation or trial (πειρασμός , with sing. Syr.) to the Galatians. In 1Ti. 6:9 those who want to be rich are considered to fall into πειρασμός (nsywn', pl.) and a snare--referring to danger of sin.

In Lk. 8:13 in the parable of the Sower, seeds without

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used for δοκιμάζω . In 2 Cor. 2:9 "proof," δοκιμήis nsyn' while in Rev. 6:5 ms't' translates "balance" ζυγός. In Mt. 4:24 the Ith. of ns' (pl. ptc. mtnsyn) is used for συνεχομένους. It is, of course to be expected that the root can have a variety of meanings. The only observation which is, perhaps, significant is that it can mean δοκιμάζω as well as πειράζω (which is not unexpected); and that nsyn' (so close to nsywn') means δοκιμή (2Cor. 2:9).

Similarly the root bḥr has a variety of meanings variously translated in the N.T.: The tested stone (1P 2:6) is bḥyrt' corresponding to the Hebrew (Is. 28:16) בחן The root bḥr is also frequently used in its meaning "chosen" or "elect" as also "examined" but the form bwḥrn' or bwḥrn is only used in 1P 1:7, 2:12 and 4:12. In James 1:12 (as in 1P 1:6-7 and 4:12) nsywn' (pl.) has with it a form of bḥr (the Ethpe.) 'tbḥr (Blessed is the man who endures temptations [nsywn'] for when he is tested ['tbḥr] he will receive the crown of life...)

root are men who fall away in time of trial ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ (sing. both in Gk. and Syr.). Similarly the day of temptation τῆν ἡμέραν τοῦ πειρασμοῦ (Gk. and Syr. sing.) in the desert is referred to (in terms of Ps. 95:9) in Hebr. 3:8; and Rev. 3:10: ὅτι ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, κἀγώ σε τηρήσω ἐκ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ (nsywn' sg.) τῆς μελλούσης ἔρχεσθαι ...also refers to a more definitive sort of temptation/trial than mere sins, afflictions or dangers.

In 1Cor. 10:13 the "πειρασμός ...ἀνθρώπινος from which a faithful God will save his own by making with the πειρασμός an ἔκβασις in order that they may endure" is in a context of a decisive eschatological trial (cf. 1Cor. 10:11) being made bearable by God's activity (cf. the sing. Mt. 24:22). Here both occurrences of πειρασμός are also sing. in syr^{pesh}.[121]

There then remain four occurrences, two in James and the two already noted in 1 Peter. In James 1:2 various temptations, πειρασμοῖς...ποικίλοις is the same as in 1P 1:6 and the syr^{pesh} is also the same (pl.) nsywn' mshlp'. In James 1:12: μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς ὑπομένει πειρασμόν, ὅτι δόκιμος γενόμενος... continues the theme of victorious endurance of trial--in joy and blessing. As in 1 Peter the first occurrences (1P 1:6, Js. 1:2) are plural both in Greek and Syriac. And, again, the

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[121] In 2P 2:9 πειρασμός is translated by 'wlsn', affliction (from the root 'ls)--but the Syriac version of 2 Peter and Rev. are, of course, from the syr^{phil} as they were not a part of the Peshitta canon and were later added.

second occurrence (1P 4:12, Js. 1:12) singular in the Greek are both plural in Syriac.

It would appear that πειρασμός in the N.T. can go through a range of meanings starting at a "low" level of sins (1Ti. 6:9), tribulations in the course of activities (Acts 20:19, Gal. 4:14 cf. Gal. 6:1) to a "higher level" of the various trials which Jesus endured in his temptation and life in battle against the power of the devil (Mk. 14:38, Lk. 4:13, 22:28) referred to quite concretely and to the temptations of his followers in the Church (1Cor. 10:13 (?), Js. 1:2-12, 1P 1:6, 4:12) on the analogy of Jesus' more "major" encounter with Satan. Such "cosmic temptation" in terms of the situation of the end-time--but still referred to concretely with reference to preceding manifestation of the devil's power--is reflected in the petition "lead us not into temptation" and in such expressions as the "hour of temptation" (Mt. 6:13, 26:41, Mk. 14:38, Lk. 11:4, 22:40-46; 1Cor. 10:13 [second occurrence, possibly both], Hebr. 3:8 and Rev. 3:10). It can be seen from these passages that on the whole this last category is in each case in the singular both in Greek and Syriac. This cannot however be made into a hard and fast rule as in some cases the categories are transitional in that they are not wholly eschatological but may also refer to current trials, perhaps interpreted eschatologically or perhaps not. In addition, there may be exceptions from case to case; and in the

Syriac in particular, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the word is, in fact, singular or plural. It would appear, however, that the singular term could at times take into itself the sum of all the temptations major and minor which can befall man and then be transformed into a term which expresses the magnitude of the final trial rather than being an abstraction for that trial. In either case, however, this singular πειρασμός is more likely from the occurrences observed to have an eschatological context. On the other hand, the plural, πειρασμοί, in Lk. 22:28 is interpreted in a very interesting way by Kuhn who writes "Dann ist deutlich, dass...in dem Spruch Luk. 22,28 πειρασμοί die Lebenszeit Jesu bezeichnet als die Situation der Anfechtung."[122] Here the plural, πειρασμοί usually interpreted as the sum of all Jesus' trials and temptations by Satan is transferred to a "singular" idea--that of the total situation of "Anfechtung"; which is close to the concept of πύρωσις being not only a particular type of trial but the <u>situation</u>, the <u>state</u> of existence under the possible power of being tempted and in danger of falling. Such

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[122]Kuhn, "Πειρασμός-ἁμαρτία-σάρξ im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen," ZThK49 (1952), p. 221, end of n.1. This article was translated into English with some revisions in Chapter VI, "New Light on Temptation, Sin, and Flesh in the New Testament," in Stendahl (ed.), The Scrolls and the New Testament (1957) [= SNT], pp. 94-113, with notes on pp. 265-70. The footnote cited is n.51 on pp. 269f. While it is usual to use the most recent edition of a revised article, the German edition was needed in order to check accurately on the significant relevant terms.

distinctions as these, tenuous as they may be, help perhaps in distinguishing between πειρασμός and πύρωσις in 1P 4:12.

D. Distinction between πύρωσις and πειρασμός

In 1P 4:12 πύρωσις (as מצרף at Qumran) seems to be the abstract noun standing for the final eschatological and decisive battle while πειρασμός, heightened though it may be as the culmination of all πειρασμοί still is nearer to δόκιμασία and depends on man's ability to endure, though with the help of God either to be enabled to bear what testing there is, or to have the test shortened or made endurable by God.

In the commentary on 1QS (i.17) Leaney notes that מצרף "means a furnace or refiner's fire, as Prv. 17:3 and 27:21 make quite clear." He translates מצרף as "trial"[123] and notes Flusser's article which states unambiguously that מצרף is an eschatological sectarian terminus technicus.[124] Leaney does not, however, point to any change of meaning from the O.T. to the sectarian use and continues to use the word "crucible" as, for example, in his citation of the מצרף passages from 1QM (following Yadin). He can therefore postulate that "the N.T. equivalent [of מצרף] is πειρασμός...carrying an eschatological sense." 1P 4:12 he translates [πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόν ὑμῖν

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[123]A. R. C. Leaney (intro., transl. and commentary), The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning (1966), p. 126.

[124]See above, p. 42, n.85.

γινομένῃ] as: "the firing which has come about to test you"[125] where obviously he distinguishes between "firing" (πύρωσις) and "test (πειρασμός) not quite in agreement with his previous argument.

While it seems clear from the sectarian writings from Qumran that מצרף means the final situation of testing, of being in the <u>situation</u> of testing of the end-time, and that the Greek equivalent used in the N.T. is πύρωσις (which may originally have derived from a figurative use of מצרף, similar to that of כור [of the O.T.]), the function of πειρασμός in its relationship to πύρωσις in 1P 4:12 is somewhat different. There may be many and various πειρασμοί which are a part of the πύρωσις situation which is πρὸς πειρασμόν, for testing. It is then a question of a situation or time characterized by a final πειρασμός--some concrete event or events of the end--and the designation of that time itself--the time of πύρωσις. If this distinction is not clear in the N.T. situation or if it was not clear to the writer or redactor of 1 Peter and subsequent translators (as syr^{pesh}), it is not strange that the terms were confused and required further explanation. At Qumran, for example, בעת המצרף הבאה (4QpPs.37 ii.19) or במצרף אל (1QM xvii.9) or עת המצרף הבאה (4Q Flor. ii.1) need no explanatory note that the מצרף is or consists of an end-time trial. The only explanatory phrase that may occur is a reference to the

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[125] Leaney, op. cit., p. 126f.

fact that this situation of מצרף obtains under the dominion of Belial (1QS i.17f., 4QFlor. ii.1f.) or in such an expression as בחוני מצרף, those tested in the מצרף or final trial.

Concerning πειρασμός K. G. Kuhn writes: "Einmal im NT ist der πειρασμός eindeutig im Rahmen des apokalyptischen Denkens als endzeitliches Geschehen gekennzeichnet," (Rev. 3:10). But πειρασμός can also occur with less sharply eschatological or with no eschatological connotation. In his discussion of 1P 1:6 and 4:12 and of the N.T. in general Kuhn states: "Der πειρασμός trifft, schon von seinem Begriff her, immer nur die Gläubigen. Die Ungläubigen, die die draussen sind, stehen nicht in solchem πειρασμός. Sie hat ja der Satan sowieso in der Gewalt... Das eben ist πειρασμός: die ständige Gefahr, vom Satan verschlungen zu werden," (1P 1:6, 4:12ff. and 5:8). Therefore in Mk. 14:38 as well as 1P 5:8 γρηγορεῖν"be watchful" is a key word. Kuhn continues: "So wurzelt der Begriff πειρασμός in dem Gedankenkreis der Kampfsituation zweier Mächte in der Welt, Gottes und des Satans...." This "Kampfsituation" is the state of war, the general situation in which various πειρασμοί are symptoms, ranging from falling into sin to the final eschatological πειρασμός.[126]

When Kuhn turns to the Qumran literature for background and further elucidation, he notes that the situation of the believer in the world is an "Angefochtensein" and describes

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[126]Kuhn, "πειρασμός..." op. cit., p. 202f.

it in terms of persecution and tribulation (1QS iii.21-25, iv.16-19 et passim) through which the "Anfechtung" becomes acute, both in Qumran and in the N.T. (Lk. 8:13, Mk. 4:17).

In his discussion of 1Cor. 10:13 Kuhn finds a similarity to 1QS iii.24. It cannot be implied, according to him, that God is the originator of the πειρασμός. Therefore, he also cannot see any possibility that through God man could fall. His interpretation follows: "Den πειρασμός meint ja hier im Zusammenhang die ständige Gefahr für den Gläubigen, zu <u>fallen</u> (1Cor. 10:12, cf. vss.6-11)... So kann auch πειρασμός (10:13) als die Verführung zum Sündigen nicht Gott zum Urheber haben... Darum wird σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ (10:13) rein temporal zu verstehen sein: 'Gleichzeitig mit,' im Moment der kritischen Situation, bei währendem Angriff des Satans..."

Qumran considered itself: "als eschatologische Kampfgemeinschaft, als <u>Gemeinde im Eschaton</u>. Nicht anders ist aber auch die Grundstruktur des Denkens Jesu. Es ist <u>Kampfsituation</u>, in der er steht (Mt. 10:34, 12:30)... Sein Wirken, vor allem in Dämonenaustreibungen und Krankenheilungen, ist <u>Brechung von Satans Herrschaft</u> (Mt. 12:29)... Βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ist <u>ein dynamisch-eschatologischer Begriff</u>...Die Situation der Gläubigen in der Welt ist die der πειραζόμενοι.[127]

E. <u>Πειρασμός at Qumran</u>

In Kuhn's article which, in part, deals with the <u>concept</u> of "πειρασμός " at Qumran it is interesting to note that in

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[127] Ibid., pp. 207, 217-20. (Italics Kuhn's.)

only one quotation which he gives from the sectarian writings at Qumran is there any word which actually might be a Hebrew equivalent of the Greek πειρασμός; and this occurrence is disputed either from the point of view of the meaning of the word or of an emendation in the line: He translates 1QS i.17f. as "...nicht zurückzuweichen vor irgend einem Schrecken oder einer Ängstigung oder <u>einer Prüfung</u>...in der Herrschaft Belials."[128] If he is translating מצרף with "test" he is doing so without accounting for the reason for his translation.[129] (If he is translating in the context of the following verb emended or reconstructed as נסו֯ן, then the meaning "test" may indeed be in his opinion an example at Qumran of the occurrence of נסה.) In Kuhn's article there is no explicit reference to an actual word or words in the material he investigated among the sectarian writings of Qumran which would correspond to either πειράζω or πειρασμός, the very concept dealt with in the article (with the exception of the one occurrence noted). While it is true that נסה or some form thereof has now been found in two cases at Qumran (in 4QDibHam),[130] the negative implication of נסה/πειράζω as resulting in the possible fall into temptation is notably lacking. The verb בחן does, indeed, occur in some nine passages but a closer examination as, for

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[128] Ibid., p. 208 (italics mine).

[129] For text of 1QS i.17f. and comment on line 18, see p. 27f. and n.[58], above.

[130] See below, p. 75.

example, of בחן in 1QM xvi.11,15; xvii.1 and in 1QH ii.13 reveals that the context--although that of testing--is one in which those tested are designed or predestined not to fall (as in temptation) but eventually to be saved or vindicated.

From the context, however, it is apparent that both in the N.T. and in Qumran Kuhn is more concerned with πειρασμός as a <u>feature</u> of the last days; and that he sees it more as a <u>state</u> or <u>situation</u> of existence rather than in terms of the accompanying trials, tests, temptations, persecutions, etc. which are manifested as concomitants of this situation.

Thus, he sees these inner or outer manifestations of affliction to be the life situation of the eschatological communities being described; and his interest is in the critical situation which devolves when tribulations and persecutions become acute. In a way, therefore, while Kuhn very accurately describes the situation of πειρασμός and as a matter of fact distinguishes between "situation" and "manifestation," he does this only implicitly and the reader must draw the conclusion for himself.

The stress in Kuhn's article is on the variety of meanings which πειρασμός could have in the early church and the light which the Qumran material sheds particularly upon the eschatological element of a situation of end-time stress and trial. As has been noted, Cross describes as elements of the apocalyptic movement the perception of history in a dualistic

cosmic struggle. With the consummation at hand and the imminent vindication of the elect Satanic powers break out in "a final defiant convulsion, manifest in the persecutions, temptations and tribulations of the faithful."[131]

Both the Qumran sect and the early Church conceived of themselves as the eschatological community of the elect. But two things are striking in reading Kuhn on πειρασμός and Cross's description of an apocalyptic movement: In the first place, both stress that trials, temptations, persecutions and tribulations of the faithful are manifestations of the final end-time, i.e., the situation. Temptation is a feature, able to be quantitatively described in terms of more or less severe, up to a final eschatological test which is closely related to a time qualitatively different from all other times--the end time. In the second place, at Qumran the terms used for these different concepts are rather clear and consistent--מצרף indicating, on the whole,[132] the situation of the end-time and a

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[131]ALQ, p. 77, n.35a (italics mine) Fridrichsen, "The Conflict of Jesus with the Unclean Spirits," Theology 22 (1931), p. 129, expressed it in similar terms: "The traditional eschatological drama implied the idea that demonism attains to its greatest manifestation of power immediately before the final crisis." (Rev. 12:12, 2Thess. 2:8-12).

[132]There is, of course, a certain overlapping at points evident both in the N.T. and in the Qumran writings where the quantitative description of a trial is of such magnitude that it almost stands for the end-time situation itself. In 1QS i.17 מכול פחד ואימה ומצרף seems to be such a series. מצרף, however, is not only the most severe designation of trial but is also linked with its being eschatological--and the qualitative time is i.18 בממשלת בליעל. In the N.T., 1Cor. 10:13 may

variety of terms describing features concomitant with that end-time such as distress (צרה), descriptions of persecution, etc. being referred to in different terms. While the description of trials within the heart of man or against the unrighteous enemy or Satan are often depicted, a term "temptation" or "trial", which would be equivalent to πειρασμός (such as נסיון or נסוי) is apparently not a crucial concept at Qumran in its eschatological thought and, indeed, is found but rarely. The terms פקודה in particular and מצרף to a lesser degree are the main terms belonging to eschatology.

In commenting on the relative absence of a πειρασμός equivalent at Qumran, Seesemann writes: "Der tragende Gedanke der Schrift ist die Darstellung der Kampfessituation, in der sich der Gläubige befindet." He describes the content of the War Scroll: "...seine Lage ist das ständige Angefochtensein... Wenn auch das Wort Versuchung in der Sektenschrift selbst fehlt, so ist die Sache doch eindeutig vorhanden."[133]

It is possible that something in the theology of the Qumran sect made a noun or verb of "testing", "tempting", or "trying" (based on the root נסה) of lesser significance in

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exhibit a similar phenomenon: Perhaps the first πειρασμός (ἀνθρώπινος) is the worst imaginable test or temptation that could be endured--but πιστός... ὁ θεός, ὅς οὐκ ἐάσει, ὑμᾶς πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε, ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑπενεγκεῖν. The second ὁ πειρασμός may then be the ultimate test and the associated idea would be that it is in the end-time (cf. 10:11).

[133] H. Seesemann, art. πεῖρα...πειράζω, πειρασμός, κτλ., in Theol. Wörterb. z. N.T., VI (1959), p. 27.

Qumran theology than that given to πειράζω/πειρασμός in the N.T.

A liturgical manuscript from Qumran found in Cave IV (4Q DibHam)[134] = 4Q Dibrê ham-Me'orôt[135] = Les paroles des luminaires = Prières liturgiques A (J. Starcky) = The Words of the Heavenly Lights, contains two occurrences of נסויים (a passive ptc. pl.; listed in Kuhn under the noun, נסוי).[136] This document published by Baillet, with photographs of the fragments, clearly shows the two occurrences of this word. In 4QDibHam v.18 נגי]עים ונסויים is translated "we have been [stri]cken and tried." The context is justified chastisement to lead the people of God in the right way. Line 16 contains the words לפקודכה "distress" and in the (בצקון) ordeal of thy מוסרכה chastisement. In vi.7 ולוא מאסנו בנסוייכה ובנגיעיכה is translated "We have not rejected Thy trials and scourges." The context is a prayer of penitential character using Lev. 26:40-44 freely as a model.[137] (No form of נסה occurs in Lev. 26:40-44).

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[134] M. Baillet, "Un recueil liturgique de Qumran, grotte 4: 'Les paroles des luminaires'," RB68 (1961), p. 195, n.2 explains: "Ceci n'est qu'un sigle d'inventaire et de travail. On voudra bien désigner le présent document par 4QDibHam, en attendant de connaître son numéro d'ordre dans l'édition définitive."

[135] 4QDibHam is called "Paroles lumineuses" (4QDibrê ham-Me'orôt) in Carmignac II, pp. 299-310. For an English translation: Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls..., op. cit., pp. 202-205.

[136] Kuhn, Konkordanz..., op. cit., s.v.

[137] Baillet, op. cit., Plates XXVII and XXVIII, and pp. 208-11, 224-231, 195 and 246-48.

Cross dates this manuscript from its Archaic or early Hasmonaean semiformal script to ca. 175-125 B.C.[138] Baillet claims that it lacks sectarian bias and may be ascribed to a pre-Essene stage of Qumran literature. But even if this document is pre-Essene or proto-Essene the dating overlaps in part that of the beginning of the Qumran community (140-125 B.C.). More normative for Qumran sectarian theology is such a strong consciousness and conviction of Divine election and salvation for the members of the sect that any temptation--or word or event corresponding to it--is also taken care of by God's grace and direction. While the total Sitz im Leben of the community is, so to speak, a πειρασμός-laden end-time,[139] these do not in the final analysis interfere in any way with God's sovereign plan and power to save those who are predestined by him to be in the "lot" of the children of light, of the angel of God. A dualistic point of view on man within himself, within the community, in the world and finally in all of creation is eventually resolved or overcome by God's sovereign will and final

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[138] F. M. Cross, "The Development...," op. cit., p. 175 = Figure 1, Line 7 and pp. 203-206 (= 4QPr[a]).

[139] Cf. H. W. Huppenbauer, Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten (1959), who describes the dualism of the texts from Cave I and CD in all its manifestations, distinguishing the character of each text treated, describes the situation of "Anfechtung" but does not refer to a Hebrew equivalent. He does, however, point out (p. 71--on the Hodayoth and the polarity between light and darkness): "Licht gibt es unter den Menschen erst der, wo Gott mit seiner Herrlichkeit wirkt (ix.26), während dem Frommen in seiner Anfechtung sein Licht zur Dunkelheit wird (v.32)." The description is apt enough but there is no particular word for "Anfechtung"--πειρασμός.

victory. If a trial is seen as the individual's own sinful inclination God will either help him by chastisement or by sheer grace. The member of the community may sin but his disciplining restores him, or the member may "totter" or "stumble" (1QS xi.12) but God's righteousness is his vindication. As to the total community in its response or reaction to tribulation and persecution, there is a firm optimism as to the outcome even though the time before the end is not pleasant. In 1QS iv.16f. this attitude is clearly seen: "For God has allotted these (two Spirits) in equal parts until the final end, and has set between their divisions eternal hatred. An abomination to truth are the deeds of the spirit of Perversity, and an abomination to the spirit of Perversity are all the ways of Truth. And fierce strife rests on all their judgments for they cannot walk together. But in his mysteries of understanding and in his glorious wisdom God has set an end for the existence of perversity, and at the time of visitation, he will destroy it forever."

To the sect the present dominion of Belial is fast approaching its end and justification or vindication is very near. Although the War between the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness will have its cycles of victory and defeat, the final victory is for the Children of Light and is caused by God's intervention (cf. 1QM xvii.8-9). It would appear that the sect felt itself already participating in the events of the end-time; they fight in the presence of the holy

ones (the angels) and must be and behave in accord with that fact (1QH iii.21-22, $4QD^{b}$ [= CD xv.15-16], 1QM xii.1-9). The community separated itself from the world to live in the desert (1QS ix.19ff.) preparing for the end--living, so to speak, as though the time of the end of days was in the time of their own lifetime.

Cross describes this cosmic struggle and adds: "The war is waged, not only between the opposing arrays of spirits and their human hosts, but also within the heart of each 'son of light' (1QS iv.23-26)."[140] He also refers in the context of understanding of πειρασμός or its equivalent phenomenon at Qumran to Nötscher's analysis of the dualistic situation which man and the community experience and meditate upon in the sectarian writings.[141] But significantly, Nötscher's discussion is built around descriptions of Qumran ideas of predestination, election, the divine foreknowledge and predetermination, man's helplessness and the total efficacy of God's will and acts. In this context man's trust and God's grace can be the only response to his glory and his sovereignty over the good and evil spirits, his omniscience and his being the prime-cause. For then there will and can be only vindication for his elect and punishment for the wicked in the day of visitation, judgment or vengeance. In such a frame of idea of "temptation"

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[140] ALQ, p. 210 and p. 210, n.27.

[141] Nötscher, Terminologie, op. cit., pp. 173-83.

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would play no significant part in the last analysis. If sin or backsliding or persecution befalls the members of the sect they can or will be enabled (because they are meant to be in the lot of the saved) to repent, be disciplined toward their improvement, or endure no matter what comes upon them. If one is not a member of the sect or is completely excommunicated, there is simply no question about his fate.

The verb נסה occurs in 1QH ii.13f.: the psalmist (possibly the righteous teacher) describes himself as a banner for the chosen ones of righteousness and an interpreter of knowledge concerning marvelous mysteries "to test" (לבחון) (14) the men of truth and "to put to the test those who love chastisement" (ולנסות אוהבי מוסר). Here the test (בחן ‖ נסה in this passage) concerns the stance of the community with respect to their leader/teacher (cf. 1QH vii.12, 1QpHab. vii.2-3). The men of truth appear to be parallel with those who love chastisement (cf. rebuke, 1P 4:14). The teacher and the attitude toward him constitutes the test situation--he is a snare for transgressors and healing for those who repent of transgression (1QH ii.8f.)--and those who love discipline are presumably those who have benefited by their chastisement and are again men of truth. So that [the verb or verbs of] testing in 1QH ii.14 is a test only in so far as it <u>affirms</u> what is already decided by the will of God which underlies all choice and event: that the sect member will respond to the teaching of

the leader of the community and be in the lot of the saved.

At Qumran an equivalent of πειρασμός = נסיון or נסוי is not crucial as a theological idea related to its eschatology. In 1QS i.18 the conjecture of an occurrence of some verbal form of נסה, or a noun נסוי seems uncertain.[142] The occurrence of נסוייכה in 4QDibHam is considered pre-Essene if it is dated 175-125 B.C. and the content of the manuscript seems pre-Essene or proto-Essene. But the fact that 140 to 125 B.C., when the Essene community was producing its sectarian documents does overlap in this period makes the argument on the basis of dating less convincing than that of the content of the manuscript. In additon, it must be remembered that there are a couple of hundred more manuscripts as yet unpublished from Caves IV and XI.

F. Qumran and the N.T.--Relative "Degrees of Anticipation"

In the light of the sect's theological understanding of itself, it is however, perhaps, not surprising that a word corresponding to πειρασμός does not seem to play too much of a role at Qumran. The very Sitz im Leben is perceived by the sect as that of the last days (equivalent to עת המצרף); and accompanying phenomena, dangerous and "trying" though they may be, must to the member of the sect be counted to his vindication in the day of visitation.[143] Trying, or testing,

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[142] See above, p. 27f. and n.58.

[143] It is also of interest that no word is found at Qumran which corresponds to γρηγορεῖν as it is used in the N.T.

then, can <u>within the community</u> have no negative effect. This may speak for an extremely high degree of anticipation of salvation in the last days--their own days. Stendahl notes several point at which the "degree of anticipation" and the eschatology of the N.T. is "higher" than that of the Qumran sect: there is a lack of "greys" in judgment of the members of the church--things are "black or white"--a man is not dealt with with the "gracious casuistry and second chance" of Qumran's discipline, but with "ultimate seriousness" (as Ananias and Sapphira, Acts 5:1-11). Yet there is church discipline and paraenesis in the N.T. and even in 1Cor. 3:15 (concerning teaching) and 5:5 (concerning morals) where very severe offenders are dealt with and may even have to suffer or be excommunicated--they will be saved οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός (1Cor. 3:15), and... τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου (1 Cor. 5:5). The Spirit has already been poured out upon the Church as the ἀρραβών and in this sense the Church certainly has a higher degree of anticipation.[144] The Gentiles had been brought into the history of salvation and the wall of division overcome. Not the concept but the event of the life, passion and death of Jesus

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(as, e.g. Mk. 14:38 and par., 1P 5:8). The one occurrence of שקד which corresponds to γρηγορεῖν is in 1QS vi.7 but it has the meaning not of "watch!" (against temptation) but of "keep a vigil" (for study). ("And let the many watch in common...to read the book and study the law (8) and bless in common.")

[144]Stendahl, "The Scrolls and the New Testament: An Introduction and a Perspective," in The Scrolls and the New Testament [= SNT], pp. 1-17. Cf. ALQ, pp. 239-43.

and belief in his resurrection and coming of the Spirit, gave life through the Spirit to the Church. The promise of the Spirit is fulfilled and this Spirit can be drawn upon here and now.

But it has recently been stressed by Stendahl that the futuristic thrust of Messianic expectation in the most primitive levels of the early church was far greater than later christologies would lead one to expect.[145] It is the particularity of Jesus, the fashion in which both his death and glorification are centered in events involving him, that accounts for a higher degree of anticipation in the early church--not its actual closeness of expectation of the messiah's coming in glory at the final consummation. The events and the church's interpretation were understood, structured and organized around the person of Jesus and his particularity is central to the expectations. The fact that the term "Messiah" was also chosen and centered upon even in a proleptic manifestation is also a difference, since early post-biblical apocalyptic Judaism has many other terms associated with the age to come.[146]

There must then, perhaps, be a modification of the way the "higher degree of anticipation" is expressed as it applies

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[145]Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, "The Most Primitive Christology of All?" in Twelve N.T. Studies (1962), pp. 139-53.

[146]Stendahl, "Messiah, Messiahs and Messianism," Lecture delivered at Brandeis University [n.d.].

to the early church. That the New Age was fully begun and the Messiah had come can no longer be simply asserted. But one place where it is possible that a "higher degree of anticipation" was manifest at Qumran may, indeed, be reflected in the relative absence or muteness of a word corresponding either to the O.T. מסה or the N.T. πειρασμός, and this is manifested in the difficulty in determining just where tribulations and persecutions would be considered πειρασμοί or simply as inevitable concomitants of the עת המצרף.

In the N.T. the πειρασμοί are truly threatening. Satan can effect the fall of the Christian and even attempt to threaten Jesus both in the Temptations and in the Garden of Gethsemane. That Jesus does not fall into this temptation is depicted but that the disciples may, indeed, fall is clear not only from the many exhortations to watch and pray lest they fall into temptation but also in the manifold paraenetic passages in, for example, the Pauline epistles which indicate that temptation and sin are a constant threat (cf. 1 Peter 5:8 and Rev. 12:12b).

It would appear that the more "sectarian" a group is the more certain its members are that they cannot fall. At Qumran, so long as one remains a member of the sect in good standing he is saved in the end. There is an extremely high sense of predestination to salvation for the sectarian member. In the early Christian church this certainly would appear at some

point in its life to have become somewhat attenuated and thereby the stress on the danger of πειρασμός is clearly depicted. Only through God's act in Jesus Christ who was victorious over the assaults of the devil can the Christian be enabled at least to hope to share in Christ's victory. But in the situation of the final woes, the final visitation or πύρωσις, only a shortening of the time can save anyone (cf. Mk. 13:20).

The difficulty and problem of distinguishing between πύρωσις and πειρασμός is brought into focus by their juxtaposition in 1P 4:12, πύρωσις πρὸς πειρασμόν. Although the Peshitta version has translated each word in the phrase, showing awareness of a difference in the terms, there is evidence that in the Syriac, too, they were not distinguished with complete clarity. Thus even in the early Eastern church, a milieu which might have retained a "Semitic" understanding of πύρωσις (= מצרף), its use as a <u>terminus technicus</u> for the end-time test is not transmitted. The word πύρωσις in 1P 4:12 as understood by later readers--even, perhaps, of the church of the second century--no longer fully retains its early Jewish-Christian apocalyptic associations. They have been, if not lost, at least confused.

On the basis of these observations some tentative conclusions may be drawn comparing the Qumran and N.T. ideas and their relative "degrees of anticipation" of the last-days, the day of visitation and vindication for God's own people--the sect of Qumran or the Church.

At Qumran a corresponding word for πειρασμός seems to be of no eschatological importance; but a word describing the end-time ordeal or test which is a near synonym of פקודה is quite frequent. This word, מצרף, means vindication of the righteous (the members of the sect) and punishment of the wicked. It contains within its developmental history the imagery of purification and cleansing by suffering, as base metals are separated from precious in a refining oven, although conscious play on this development is not primary or even evident at Qumran. The end-time is the time of the final, the eschatological ordeal; but Qumran although describing many trials and distresses and tribulations preceding or accompanying this time nevertheless does not appear concerned about the final outcome of its various trials and tribulations. The results of "δοκιμασία" at Qumran are expected to be positive. In the N.T., on the other hand, there are varying quantitative degrees of πειρασμός, the greatest of which approaches מצרף in meaning but cannot be equated with it, since מצרף at Qumran primarily is a qualitative description of a time, of a situation into which various trials and woes play but which is not equal to the distresses themselves. Also in the N.T. πειρασμός carries with it the connotation that the one undergoing a πειρασμός could fail the test. It is most often the devil who tempts and puts to the test and only "he who endures to the end 'can' be saved".

At Qumran--for a member of the community--there can be no πειρασμός leading to failure as a member. God will bring the time of testing to an end in his good time; the possibility of not being saved, either by grace or justification or through chastisement, is not even considered. Hence נסה or מסה[147] are not suitable or even appropriate terms and this would appear to demonstrate one point at which the Qumran community sees itself closer to the end, to salvation, than did the early Christians who were much concerned with πειρασμός in all degrees. To belong to the sect is to belong to the lot of God because it is God's own will and the members' predetermined, preordained position. There was no falling away--except a falling away which would mean that God had predestined the lot of that man to be with the lot of Belial and not of God. If there is sin or error, God will save if it is his will; but ultimate salvation is the lot of the member of the sect.

How could the Qumran sectaries be so sure? Could it be that the sect lasted such a short time that doubts and speculations as to the meaning of the πειρασμός experienced did not have a chance to arise? The actual existence of the sect was between approximately 140 B.C. when the Essenes made their exodus to Qumran until A.D. 68,[148] a period of some 220 years.

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[147]These are the typical O.T. terms. Apparently in Qumran נסה is rare and thus far the corresponding noun appears to be נסיון or נסיון.

[148]See chronological chart in J. T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea (Engl. transl., 1959),

But the sectarian documents from Qumran upon which the theological observations are made belong to a very early stage of the history of the sect (e.g. 1QS was probably composed in the late second century B.C. and 1QH in the late second and first centuries B.C.; while the copies of CD are pre-Roman--first half of first century B.C.--and of 1QpHab, 50-25 B.C.).[149] Also it is not only the length of time that a community had to reflect upon its situation but also the meaning of its theology which determines the "level" of anticipation as well as such elements within the expectation which can be used as significant indications for analysis. It would appear that at Qumran, at a relatively early stage in the life of the sect it did not see any chance that a member of the sect through πειρασμός might fail and be excluded from final vindication and salvation. Neither was the tribulation inner or outer, personal or corporate, of the community or of its leaders interpreted in such a way that there was a threat which could conceivably end in failure--of not being approved.

G. <u>The N.T. and Other Early Christian Literature</u>:

In the Christian community, however, a fundamental element

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pp. 144-6, cf. ALQ, pp. 57-64: From the beginning of Hyracanus' reign or the end of Simon's to the destruction of Qumran in A.D.68--about 210 years.

[149]Cross, "The Development...," op. cit. bases the dating on palaeographic evidence as follows: 1QS, after the turn of the 2nd century; 1QM, ca. 30-1 B.C. (early Herodian formal script); 1QH, first hand.-middle Herodian - formal but not the later stage; 1QpHab - early Herodian and 1QH; second hand - vulgar semi-formal Herddian.

of the kerygma, the preaching of the message of the Lord and Christ, is precisely that the temptation, the constant struggle with Satan, the suffering, and death--even death in desolation as pictured in Mark with apparent temporary victory of Satan--is all a part of the saving act of God in Jesus, the Lord and Christ. To the Christian Jesus' temptations were real and the ultimate victory, glory, and joy come despite the reality or even through the reality of such temptations, so that the Church's sharing in Jesus' παθήματα will also share in the victory (1P 4:12-13).

The community addressed in the First Epistle of Peter would appear to represent a length of time from the foundation of the Church until the stage of development when 1 Peter was known and acknowledged in the early Church as authoritative (as evidenced by its use in such writings as Poly. to Phil. 1:2, 2:1, Ep. to Diogn. 9:2, Hermas, Vis. IV. 3,4 and its inclusion in listings of books of a "N.T." canon)[150]--a range from about the middle of the second century on and a length of time of about 120 years. It also seems clear that 1 Peter is dependent on Ephesians, a deutero-Pauline writing, dated about 80-100.[151] It would then appear that at about the time 1 Peter

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[150]Irenaeus includes 1 Peter in his list of scriptures considered to be canonical (apud Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. V, 8,7) Cf. B. F. Westcott, A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament (1881[5]), pp. 233, and Index II: Synopsis of Historical Evidence (re: 1 Peter, p. 592).

[151]C. L. Mitton, "The Relationship between 1 Peter and Ephesians," JTS1 (1950), 67-73.

was written the Church had had consciousness of itself for an even shorter time than the sect at Qumran. In the Christian community it is not end-time speculation but an "event" which is the key to the understanding of its terminology and its theology.[152] The temptations of Jesus are depicted in event; so, too, his victory is expressed in an "event"--"it happened" in this way--and the event is described variously as resurrection, ascension, or session at the right hand of God.

Since in 1 Peter there is a "testament"form[153]--as though Peter were meditating on his failures, thankful for his restoration, rejoicing in his Lord's coming glory and encouraging the community for which he was given responsibility--the πειρασμός element also has "event" meaning. For this testament is in Peter's name; and Peter, according to the tradition, failed in his πειρασμοί not only by denying his Lord but by falling asleep in the Garden of Gethsemane when he was begged to "watch" and pray. So once more the πειρασμός element would be linked not only with Jesus but wirh the repentant restored apostle, who, according to tradition, became a martyr. So, too, the exhortation γρηγορήσατε (1P 5:8) takes on a particular "Petrine" meaning.

Although the details are not clear, it can be deduced that the distinction between πύρωσις and πειρασμός in 1P

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[152]Stendahl, "The Scrolls...," op. cit., p. 15; cf. ALQ, p. 242.

[153]See in Introduction, pp. ix-xiv, above.

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4:12 was not sharp. In terms of Essene thought מצרף and its associated ideas would underlie πύρωσις.

Fridrichsen[154] makes the following observation:

> Der Teufel ist im N.T. überhaupt "der Feind" (ὁ ἐχθρός Mt. 10,19;13,39; ὁ ἀντίδικος 1 Pt. 5,8), der auf jede Weise die Gläubigen zu schädigen sucht. Er schickt Krankheit und Verfolgung, er lockt zur Sünde und zum Abfall vom Glauben,--das alles heisst πειρασμός und πειραζειν, Πειρασμός im Sinne von περίστασις Lc. 8, 13;22,28;1 Cor. 10,13; I Thess. 3,5; Act. 20,19; Heb. 11, 17; 1 Pt. 1,6; 4,12; Jc. 1,2,12. Im Sinne vom inneren Anreiz zur Sünde Mt. 6,13; 1 Cor. 7,5; Gal. 6,1; I Tim. 6,9; Jc. 1, 13f.[155]

This distinction is of interest not primarily because of the way the various πειρασμός and πειράζω passages are split up but because of the use of περίστασις as a synonym for πειρασμός in the cases cited (to which might be added Mt. 6:13). The noun περίστασις (lit., "standing round") can mean "circumstances," "situation" and especially a "difficult position," "crisis" or "critical times" in Polybius et al. (and in 2Macc. 4:16). The term περίστασις, does not occur in the N.T. Were the noun, πύρωσις, with its association with purification and the further light shed on to its meaning in a Qumran equivalent of מצרף not known, this other noun, περίστασις, might

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[154]S. Eitrem and A. Fridrichsen, Die Versuchung Christi (1924) (Biheft til 25 aargang Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift) pp. 1-23 (Eitrem) 24-37 (Fridrichsen) bring several observations which, though they do not bear upon the general argument at this point nevertheless should be noted. Eitrem sees Jesus' temptations as temptations to show his power in the form of magic at the command of the devil. While he resists these he performs similar miracles in his proleptic messianic role in the power of the Father, God.

[155]Ibid., p. 28, italics mine.

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indeed express the very difference between "situation" and "event" which seems to obtain in the Qumran disinterest in a πειρασμός equivalent and a need for two different meanings for πύρωσις and πειρασμός in 1P 4:12. But in view of the evidence presented on a distinction between πύρωσις and πειρασμός, it is not πειρασμός of 1P 4:12 which could be rendered with περίστασις but πύρωσις, i.e. the situation, the critical time (πύρωσις in the light of the imagery from 1P 1:6f. and from Qumran; or περίστασις from Greek usage), which is for your testing (πειρασμός).

Seesemann handles 1P 4:12 as follows: "Stärker an Versuchungen durch Leiden ist dagegen wiederum 1 Pt 4,12 gedacht ...Doch steht auch hier nicht die Frage nach dem Wesen der Versuchung, sondern vielmehr die nach dem Wesen und Woher der Leiden im Vordergrund. Die Antwort ist von dem Verständnis der Leiden Christi her bestimmt: καθὸ κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν χαίρετε 4,13. Leiden bedeutet danach für den Christen Teilnahme an den Leiden Christi und darum letzthin Freude. Freilich ist damit den Leiden der Christen nicht der Charakter der Versuchung genommen. Das beweist 4,17, wo die Leiden als Gericht verstanden werden, das am Hause Gottes seinen Ausgang nimmt." Seesemann continues to relate πειρασμός to judgment in the last days. God's day of judgment with its manifestations of ψευδόχριστοι and ψευδοπροψῆται but points out that: "Doch begegnet das Wort πειρασμός nur selten in

diesen Zusammenhängen...Mit πειρασμός ist nicht so sehr die Versuchung des einzelnen, als vielmehr das gesamte eschatologische Entsetzen, die gesamte Not der Endzeit gemeint." Yet he does not go on to make a more radical distinction as he continues: "Doch bedeutet sie auch die Versuchung des einzelnen... Es ist das Ziel des διάβολος die Christen zu Fall zu bringen; um so mehr gilt die Ermahnung zur Treue und zur Gewissheit, dass der Herr die Seinen zu beschützen weiss...". Seesemann interprets the sixth petition of the Lord's Prayer, however, in terms of eschatological distress. In the Temptation narrative (Mk. 4:1-11 and par.), ὁ πειράζων tempts Jesus (πειράζω used concerning Jesus in Mk. 1:12, Mt. 4:1 and Lk. 4:2) and in the context of the Temptation narrative (Lk. 4:13), and in the setting of the Last Supper πειρασμός or πειρασμοί are associated with Jesus himself (Lk. 4:13 and 22:28). When he discusses Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane Seesemann also points out: "Doch fehlt im Bericht das Wort πειρασμός in bezug auf Jesus selbst", although the disciples are exhorted: γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ ἔλθητε εἰς πειρασμόν (Mk. 14:38 and par.). In describing Jesus' passion and the cry of desolation (Mk. 15:34) again the horror of "temptation" can be glimpsed, but: "Doch ist auch hier die Vokabel πειρασμός nicht verwendet".[156]

It is instructive to note not only a certain ambiguity in the understanding of the word πειρασμός but also a certain

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[156]Seesemann, op. cit., pp. 30-37.

"unpredictability" about its use that fits in well with the attempt more narrowly to define it in its various "quantitative" occurrences and to separate it from the <u>situation</u> depicted for which another word (as πύρωσις) might be more suitable--a word which, however, fell into disuse in the sense of the situation of the end-time which is accompanied by and characterized by various πειρασμοί. Strictly, however, no matter how severe and ultimate a πειρασμός may be, it remains precisely that: a πειρασμός although unbearable. But the <u>time</u> or <u>situation</u> in which such ultimate eschatological πειρασμός comes is, if the usage of Qumran is carried over, "πύρωσις". Such distinction was apparently attenuated or lost in the N.T. writings in general, so that in the N.T. some πειρασμοί may be relatively simple. But there is an ascending scale of meaning all the way to THE πειρασμός (as in the Lord's Prayer):[157] Lead us

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[157]For a good discussion of "lead us not into temptation" see E. Lohmeyer, "Our Father": An Introduction to the Lord's Prayer (Engl. transl., 1965), pp. 191-208. If, indeed, this petition is to be interpreted eschatologically, it is interesting to speculate on the "most original" wording of the petition. The Aramaic form of the Matthaean version might be ולא תעלנא לנסיונא. It is, of course, controversial and difficult to attempt a reconstruction or even to attempt to place the Lord's Prayer in any chronology be it in the words of Jesus or those recollected and transmitted by the early church and arranged by a redactor in Mt. and Lk. It is, however, likely that πειρασμός was the word selected as most appropriate to the concept involved. If, however, there were strongly eschatological overtones and if the transmission of the prayer is dated to a very early period, the question might be raised as to why נסיון and not מצרף is used. If the "event" character of the theology of the Gospels is kept in mind, πειρασμός/ נסיון is more suitable to recall Jesus' own temptations even unto death. It is also possible that מצרף as an eschatological <u>terminus technicus</u> might have disappeared already

not into Temptation = Do not permit us to come into the time of eschatological πειρασμός i.e. the days in which, were they not shortened, no one would be saved (Mt. 24:22, Mk. 13:20, cf. 1Cor. 10:13 with its ἔκβασις).[158]

This helps to explain the need for descriptive appositional phrases when πύρωσις is encountered in the early Christian material as 1P 4:12 and also in Did. 16:5. As has been noted, the situation of eschatological anticipation with respect to being pure or genuine and thus vindicated, found δοκιμός,[159] (cf. 1P 1:6-7) even in manifold πειρασμοί seems so high at Qumran that a word corresponding to πειρασμός--with its implication of possible failure in temptation--is rare and bears little significance in this context. A study of πειρασμός occurrences reveals that in the N.T., too, there is a singular absence of πειρασμός and/or πειράζω in the Johannine literature (with the exception of Jn. 6:6: τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγεν πειράζων αὐτόν, in a clearly different sense) and cf. Rev. 3:10 (if this is also considered with the "Johannine" literature, as are the Johannine epistles) where τηρήσω ἐκ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ τῆς

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in a very early time and that its occurrences (with explanatory phrases) in 1P 4:12 and Did. 16:5 are most unusual.

It is also instructive to note that in the daily prayer of Judaism (possibly dated back into the Tannaitic period because of the extreme conservatism of liturgy) a non-eschatological petition occurs which is very similar. (See: bBerak. 60b): ואל תביאנו...ולא לידי נסיון ...

[158]Cf. Stendahl, "Hate, Non-Retaliation, and Love. 1QS x.17-20 and Romans 12:19-21, HTR55 (1962), p. 354, where he describes the early church as praying "not for the power to fight evil, but to be delivered from evil..." Concerning 1Cor. 10:13, Stendahl continues: "...God's help provides an ἔκβασις..."

[159]See above, p. 58 and n.117.

μελλούσης ἔρχεσθαι...πειράσαι τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς sounds much more like a description of עת המצרף הבאה from which the faithful will be protected or the מצרף נהיים בממשלת בליעל (cf. Rev. 3:9) in which the faithful overcome the power of Satan by God's grace, rather than a description of the particular accompanying trials and tribulations. Then at Qumran and in "Johannine" theology the same sort of eschatological ideas would obtain--a sort of realized eschatology where the time to come is already so operative in the present time as to be almost inseparable from it.

But it would appear that even though the writer (redactor) of 1 Peter may have in some way been influenced by some tradition which retained a use of πύρωσις in the corresponding sense it had as a terminus technicus at Qumran (מצרף), even he needed to add an explanatory phrase πρὸς πειρασμόν.

Other evidence of early Syriac transmission of a tradition behind 1 Peter is missing as 1 Peter is not translated in the Old Syriac; and Aphraates (early fourth Cent.) apparently quotes 1 Peter in none of his works. Thus no other early Syriac evidence is available which might shed more light on 1P 4:12.[160]

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[160]Aphraates, Demonstrationes I-XXIII and Indices in R. Graffin (ed.), Patrologia Syriaca (Latin transl. J. Parisot), Part I, Vols. I and II [sic] (1894-1907). The only two N.T. quotations containing πειρασμός or πειράζω are Mt. 26:41 in Demonstratio XXIII 53 where nsywn' agrees with the syr^{pesh} and Hebr. 2:18 in the same book at the end of section 11 where the

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As time went on there was further removal from the conceptual milieu common both to Qumran and the early beginnings of the Church with their Jewish complex of ideas to a predominantly Greek form of transmission in the writings of the N.T. A term such as πύρωσις might have originally reflected an old tradition going back to material of a "Petrine testament" form, and thus might have retained some technical meaning similar to מצרף at Qumran. Such a technical meaning, however, was apparently lost. To the theological speculation on πειρασμός was then added the effect of the "event" of the sufferings of the Lord (and of his disciples) and therefore some explanatory treatment was required for a Greek speaking Christian Church.

Another possibility is that πύρωσις simply became a synonym of δοκιμασία and associated in concept with that or those who are δοκιμοί (cf. 1P 1:6-7 and 1P 4:12). The imagery might still faintly be maintained in that πυρόω and δοκιμάζω are indeed closely related but the special πύρωσις/מצרף of Qumran correspondence would be lost. The noun, πύρωσις, would still need explanation in further terms.

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temptation of Christ is described, using 'tnsy and mtnsyn as in the syr^{pesh}. This does not add, however, to the knowledge of early Syriac understanding of πειρασμός in 1 Peter, but does show that 1 Peter was probably not in common use in the 3-4 centuries in the Eastern Church. This is particularly apparent since Aphraates has a long tractate on Persecution and another on Bishops or Pastors and in either it might be expected that 1 Peter would be quoted if it was in current use in the church in the Eastern Church.

The Didache, as 1 Peter, has a mixture of both paraenetic and eschatological elements as well as reflecting the cultic life of the Church. Chapter 16 of the Didache is apocalyptic in content. In Did. 16:5 there is a similarity both in eschatological context and context to 1P 4:12.

> **Did. 16:5:** τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει, αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.[161]

In Did. 16:5 "καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί" is a clear reflection of Mt. 24:10. The phrase, "οἱ δὲ...ὑπομείναντες... σωθήσονται" recalls Mt. 10:22 (= Mt. 24:13 = Mk. 13:13b, cf. IV Ezra 6:25), material which is probably common to Jewish apocalyptic tradition. Despite the fact that Mt. 24:10 (which does not come from Mk.13) is used in the Didache, literary dependency on Mt. is not established. Köster concludes:

> Gerade darum scheint es mir aber keine mögliche Erklärung zu sein, wenn man annimmt, dass Did. 16 von Mt. abhängig ist. Dabei bleibt ungeklärt, warum Did. nur dieses eine von Mt. in die synoptische Apokalypse eingefügte Stück berücksichtigt. Eine befriedigendere Erklärung bietet... die Annahme, dass Did. 16 zu beweisen scheint, dass Mt. 24, 10-12 doch kein von Mt. verfasstes Résumé von Mk. 13, 9-13 (= Mt. 10, 17-22) ist, sondern ein selbständiges Traditionsstück der jüdischen Apokalyptik, das Mt. hier einfügte als Ersatz für das von ihm schon im 10. Kapitel verarbeitete Stück Mt. 13, 9-13. Das gleiche jüdische

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[161] The total verse of Did. 16:5 is of interest in studying the theology and apocalyptic of the early church. For the phrase σωθησονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος see J. Rendel Harris, The Teaching of the Apostles (1887), pp. 62-69 on "salvation by similars."

> Traditionsstück ist auch in Did. 16 verarbeitet worden. So erklärt sich zwanglos, warum Did. 16 nur mit diesem Stück der synoptischen Apokalypse der Mt.-Fassung solche Berührungen zeigt, die sich nicht einfach aus der unbeabsichtigten parallelen Verwendung der gleichen apokalyptischen Züge erklären lassen, wie das bei allen anderen Berührungen mit Mt.-Sondergut in Did. 16 der Fall ist. Es wird auch deutlich, warum Did. 16, 3 gegenüber Mt. 24, 12 einen ursprünglicheren Eindruck machen konnte. In der Did.-Apokalypse ist eben eine teils in ursprünglicherer Fassung als bei Mt. erhaltene Variante von Mt. 24,10-12 verarbeitet.[162]

Thus Did. 16 uses material common in Jewish apocalyptic. The manner in which it uses "gospel" material differs in many ways from that which is common to the synoptic tradition as, for example, the different uses of κτίσις in Mk. 13:19 and Did. 16:5. The gathering in of the elect is typical of Jewish apocalyptic. Did. 16:4b and Mk. 13:22 and par. use the anti-Christ image in different ways. Both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic writing often have warning concerning false prophesy and teaching associated with end-time trials at the end of such documents.[163] The title, Son of God, as used in Did. 16:4 certainly shows a later stage of christology than the Gospel use. The problem of the dating of the Didache as a whole is complex[164] but it is certain that chapter 16 contains not only early Jewish post-biblical pre-Christian apocalyptic material but also quite

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[162] H. Köster, Synopsche Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern (1957) [= TU 65], p. 184.

[163] G. Bornkamm, Die Vorgeschichte des sogenannten Zweiten Korintherbriefes (1961).

[164] See J.-P. Audet, La Didachè: Instructions des apôtres (1958) [Études bibliques]; R. Kraft, The Apostolic Fathers, Vol. III. The Didache and Barnabas (1965).

late usage of this material (which is from gospel tradition) in terms of what may be early second century Christianity.

While the Syriac Didaskalia Apostolorum (III Cent.) has a final section (71a and b)[165] on false christs and lying prophets there does not seem to be any reference to a "πύρωσις" or any equivalent; (Mt. 24:13 or a similar parallel is cited in this section as is the case in Did. 16). Thus again there is no evidence from Eastern Christianity of how πύρωσις might have been treated other than the fact that it has apparently been dropped out.

In the Greek Apostolic Consitutions 7:1-32 (IV Century, Egypt) which builds on an adapted form of the Didache, the apocalyptic material in the eschatological appendix (Did. 16) is cut down and πύρωσις is omitted in 16:5a.[166]

Since, however, there is material of Did. 16 which is from a common source of Jewish apocalyptic ideas, πύρωσις might possibly reflect even more clearly than in 1P 4:12 an idea linking it to the מצרף usage at Qumran. But once again it does not stand alone and appears to need explanation by an appositional addition: τῆς δοκιμασίας. (In Barnabas 4:3,9b,13f. and 15:5 πύρωσις does not occur, although the passages have many similarities.) The τῆς δοκιμασίας is somewhat less

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[165]Margaret Dunlop Gibson (ed.), The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac (1903) [= Horae Semiticae No. I] and Gibson (Engl. transl.), The Didascalia Apostolorum in English (1903) [= Horae Semiticae No. II].

[166]Kraft, op. cit., p. 58.

specific in terms of what the πύρωσις is than is the explanatory phrase in 1P 4:12, πρὸς πειρασμόν, and it does not carry a specifically Christian association which πειρασμός might have if it is in any way tied to the πειρασμός connected with Jesus and his disciples. The noun, δοκιμασία, is simply a synonym for testing or examination. The phrase πύρωσις τῆς δοκιμασίας, while still needing expansion from πύρωσις alone, may be a step nearer than 1P 4:12 to a meaning preserved from the climate of Essene-type eschatology. Yet the need for τῆς δοκιμασίας is evidence that even in a clearly eschatological context there is a needed explanatory synonym.

The only occurrence of πύρωσις in the Apologists is in Justin, Dial. 116,2: καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἐξεσπασμένοι ἐσμέν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τῶν προτέρων καθαρισθέντες, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς θλίψεως καὶ τῆς πυρώσεως, ἣν πυροῦσιν ἡμᾶς ὅ τε διάβολος καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ ὑπερέται πάντες, ἐξ ὧν καὶ πάλιν ἀποσπᾷ, ἡμᾶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.[167]

In this passage πύρωσις is quite unambiguously equated with θλῖψις and although the context is: "being plucked out as from fire" (cf. Zech. 3:2 "Behold is not this as a brand plucked from the fire?" re: the Lord's rebuke of the devil), purged and purified from the affliction and the burning wherewith both the devil and all his servants burn us; and Jesus the Son of God is the one who plucks the sinner from the fire--

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[167] Otto, Opera Iustini..., op. cit., ad loc. Also E. J. Goodspeed (ed.), Die Älteste Apologeten (1914), ad loc.

yet the final judgmental eschatological element is not there. The passage occurs in a context of Justin's interpretation of Zech. 2:10-3:2, about Jesus (יהושע/Ἰησοῦς), the high priest. In Dial. 116,2 Justin takes advantage of this translation Joshua/Jesus to contrast Jesus, the high priest whose garments are unclean (Zech. 3:4ff.) with Jesus Christ the holy one, who protects the believer from the devil even after baptism. The believer snatched from the fire is garmented afresh and freed from sin. This reception of remission of sins is seen to "set on fire the believer by the word of his calling" (πυρωθέντες διὰ τοῦ λόγου τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ)--cf. Jer. 23:29. This is obviously homiletical reflection on the "etymology" of πύρωσις, with a return of its πυρόω connotation.

In Justin, then, πύρωσις is, like θλῖψις, something from which one is rescued by Christ. The eschatological meaning has faded and the ordinary day by day life of the Christian struggling against sin is now the focal point. Hidden and inactive in the πύρωσις= מצרף, is the idea of "fire" which becomes a source for new elaborations and associations.

In the course of time, then, from Qumran to Justin מצרף/ πύρωσις has increasingly lost its ultimate eschatological meaning and has changed from the situation of immediate or impending judgment whose sign is trials and persecutions with assurance of a positive outcome for the faithful to a term indicating but one of such trials--the common sin of man which requires the saving act of God, through Jesus Christ, in every moment.

IV. Conclusions

The noun, πύρωσις, had a wide range of meanings in Classical Greek based on a literal association with πυρόω, its verbal antecedent. It is relatively rarely used with a figurative meaning, and even then it is based on some element of heat or fire as, for example, burning desire. In Josephus it is used of the destruction by fire of Sodom and it becomes an image of such punishment by God of the wicked in the end-time but then the word πύρωσις is not used but some combination of fire-imagery using πῦρ. In the LXX it is used once in Prv. 27:21 where it translates מצרף (or: כור, with which the Hebrew is parallel) and the context is the testing of men by their reputations. The imagery is that of a smelting furnace or crucible in which precious metals are purified and refined. The only other occurrence of πύρωσις in the LXX is in Amos 4:9 where it translates שדפון.[168]

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[168] If the connotations of πύρωσις are traced from its usage in Amos 4:9 where it translates שדפון and not מצרף (|| כור), the development would be as follows: שדפון occurs 5 times in the M.T. and only in Amos 4:9 is it translated into Greek with πύρωσις. The passages are: Hag. 2:17; Dt. 28:22; 1Kgs. 8:37 = 2Chr. 6:28. It is always one of a number of terms denoting the nature curses for covenant breaking. The language of nature curses, which is frequent in the prophets, reappears in late apocalyptic contexts such as Rev. 6:8 (cf. Jer. 14:12; 27:8 et passim) and 18:8, where these terms are used to describe the calamities at the end of time. Thus, through this line of development, one might attempt to establish a technical eschatological connotation even through Amos 4:9. But this is less likely than that developed above from מצרף in Prv. 27:21. It might almost be said that from Amos 4:9 one of the πειρασμοί of the end of days can be traced, while from Prv. 27:21 the totality of the end-time ordeal, the situation of eschatological

The word translated πύρωσις in the LXX is the M.T. מצרף which is parallel to כור and which in biblical Hebrew means a place of refining or smelting metals. There are two occurrences of מצרף in the M.T. in identical first lines of Prv. 17:3 and 27:21 and they are used metaphorically for the testing of man by other men or by God.

At Qumran מצרף occurs more frequently and it is a sectarian terminus technicus for the time or situation which the community sees as its own: the end-time with the ultimate ordeal before the consummation of the age to come. In this time the elect (= the members of the sect) will be vindicated and saved and the wicked annihilated. Perhaps basically the image is that which is in the O.T., the figurative use of smelting and refining, but it is not used in the same way, and at Qumran the word has shifted in meaning.

It is this shifted, changed meaning that enables מצרף to be seen behind the use of πύρωσις in 1P 4:12. Not the biblical but the Qumran use is the key to understanding the N.T. figurative use of πύρωσις. So although the basic understanding of πύρωσις is not greatly changed by this study, the method applied to 4:12 may also illuminate other passages in 1 Peter. That the fiery aspect of the end-time ordeal is not present (or at least not stressed in 4:12) is best understood from the uses

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crisis, the πύρωσις, has been traced. But this tracing is not directly via the biblical usage in either case but through the use of מצרף at Qumran, where מצרף has either shifted in meaning or where it might be of another origin.

at Qumran of מצרף. That the context is the eschatological crisis is clear both from the Qumran usage and the context in 1P 4:12. The relationship of πύρωσις to πειρασμός is also clarified. There is more of a situational aspect to πύρωσις; and πειρασμός is more descriptive of a feature of that situation. As in Qumran, the early church saw her situation as living in the end of days and the trials, tribulations and persecutions (fiery and otherwise) are simply concomitants to this Sitz im Leben. Thus in the N.T. there are many and varied πειρασμοί of all degrees of intensity.

If, indeed, the Qumran usage is behind πύρωσις (מצרף), then the appositional phrase, πρὸς πειρασμόν, is hardly necessary. This may be an indication that although the writer of the Epistle used πύρωσις the term was no longer as self-explanatory as מצרף was at Qumran. The later development (in Justin, for example) shows that πύρωσις simply came to mean sin--the "lowest" level of πειρασμός in the N.T. usage. This is an instructive example of the development, shift and change in emphasis of a word--indeed, even in meaning. What this means in terms of the background of the writer of 1 Peter and his hearers is also helpful in terms of application of the same line of reasoning to other problems in the Epistle. It is postulated that the writer transmitted some tradition going back to a time when some such equation as מצרף/πύρωσις was an easily understood image and that his own time did not hear

the word in the same way. His addition of an explanatory phrase as well as the confusion of the terms nsywn' and bwḥrn as transmitted in the Peshitta Syriac version of 1P 4:12 led to a blurring of any distinction in the terms πειρασμός and πύρωσις and an eventual flattening out of πύρωσις.

Excursus I: Brief Observations from Comparative Study of Religion

Such associations are, of course, not limited to the Judaeo-Christian tradition, but may be seen almost universally in the religious speculations of the peoples of the world even from quite primitive times. The fact that fire appears to come down from heaven (as in the form of lightning) and can also be kindled by man gives it a double sense of that which cannot be controlled and that which is capable of being "tamed" to the use of man for his cultural needs. The association of light and fire with creation is widespread in very primitive religions, and may even be more directly connected with birth and fertility in the course of further development of religious speculation. In the ancient Near East the figure of the god is that of a storm- or fertility-god who can send lightning. In the Ugaritic texts, for example, an epithet of Baal is "rider of the clouds" and in Text 51:V:70 he is described as "giving forth his voice (or: he will peal his thunder)[1] in the clouds. He flashes his lightning to the earth."[2] Baal-Hdd (=Hadad) is a god of fertility and is depicted in carvings at Ras Shamra as a warrior holding a thunderbolt or bolt of lightning as his spear.

Fire cults were widespread in the ancient world. The old Nordic and Dravidian streams came together in early Indian

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[1] H. L. Ginsberg (alternate translation of the text), in Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the O.T. (1955[2]), p. 133.

[2] C. H. Gordon (transl.), Ugaritic Literature (1949), p. 32.

religion and took, to some extent, an ancient Aryan (cf. relationship to Iranian) form. In the Rig-Veda (the royal veda or knowledge), Agni (cf. Lat. ignis) is a god of fire and there are similar fire cults bound up with the "elements" as in ancient Babylonian, Hittite, and Iranian religions as well. Fire is considered to purge and consume and may be used in connection with healing and exorcism. In Iranian religion fire is the main holy element and object of the cult while in India it is associated more with sacrificial fire. In both places, however, there is a connection with a common concept which means law and order,[3] which is interesting perhaps in terms of later uses of the concept of fiery judgment.

In Iranian religion before Zarathustra fire-rites played an important part partly in purifying and partly in life-renewing functions. Fire was thought of as a divine, regulating, and living power and presence.

After the development of Zoroastrianism fire temples developed somewhat on the analogy of those of Assyrian and Babylonian cults. Fire was kept and tended by priests and was the center of holiness, carefully guarded and only to be approached in the state of purity. Unbloody sacrifices and liturgical recitations of parts of the Avesta were part of the cult. A Fall annual New Year celebration was a celebration of "the new

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[3] See H. Ringgren and Å. V. Ström, Religionerna i historia och nutid (1957), esp. pp. 141f. (by Ström).

light" and was accompanied by ideas of death and renewal as is the case of most ancient Near Eastern New Year festivals. The eschatology of Zoroaster, the fire-priest, was characterized by an end-time conflict in which the right are victorious and all impurity and uncleanness is done away with. "The metals that are in the mountains and hills will melt and pass over the earth like rivers and all men must pass through this fiery stream of molten metal for purification. To the just (he who is saved) the glowing metal will feel as if he walked through warm milk, but to the wicked (the damned) it will really be like molten metal."[4] Such a formulation may have developed from a very early idea concerning the use of "ordeals" as means of determining guilt at the judgment of the end time.[5] All who survive will live in unity and love and praise Ahura Mazda (the Lord of Wisdom) and all evil in the whole world will have been purged away.[6]

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[4]Bundahishn 30,19; quoted in E. Herzfeld, Zoroaster and his World (1947), pp. 284f. and in R. C. Zaehner, The Teachings of the Magi (1956), p. 148, where the quotation is given from F. Justi (ed.), Bundahishn--Greater or Iranian version (1868), pp. 40-43. This later formulation may go back to and reflect earlier ideas, cf. Yasna 47,6 and 51,9, p. 14-15 above.

[5]K. Stendahl, art. Luttringseld [πύρωσις] , in I, Engnell (ed.), Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk [= SBU], I (1962^2), col. 154f., suggests that behind the images in the apocalyptic section of Zech. 13:9 there may be a trace of an "ordeal", a test of purity ("through fire," "refined as silver," "tried as gold"). Cf. p. 120 re: 1Cor. 3:13.

[6]Cf. D. Flusser, "The Baptism of John and the Dead Sea Sect," in C. Rabin and Y. Yadin (eds.), Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in memory of E. L. Sukenik (1961), pp. 225-30, esp.

In Indian (as in ancient Near Eastern religions) fire, as associated with the phenomenon of lightning, had a function in battle--just as lightning fells trees so will divine fire ("the son of power") fell the enemy (Rig-Veda 1:143:1, 5:3:1). Agni is "the fire" (Rig-Veda 10:125:1) and has a place both in the official and household cults involving worship and praise.[7] The Indo-Germanic religions also had associations of fire both with fertility and protection from death.

In the ancient Greek pantheon Hestia (=Latin: Vesta) is the goddess of the hearth and is manifested in part in fire. She appears as Vesta, the Roman goddess of the hearth, and her attendants, the vestal virgins, were chosen in connection with purity and with the implication of protection both from impurity and death.[8]

Van der Leeuw notes:

> To revere Agni, the sublimest lines of the Rig-Veda were composed, while in the speculation of the West fire became, for Heracleitus, the arche, the ultimate substance and power of the Universe; and as rites gradually fell into disuse the ancient mode of controlling the renewed life was transposed, by soul

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p. 229. [In Hebrew] I am grateful to Dr. Avi Hurvitz for having translated part of this article for my use. See also K. G. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," ZThK49 (1952), 296-316.

[7]Ringgren and Ström, op. cit., p. 174 (Ström).

[8]The etymological connection of Hestia and Vesta is doubtful.

[9]H. Diels (ed.), Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker i (1922[4]), p. 67.

> seeking firm rhythms, into the inner world-process; still the ruling force of the world, of the cosmos, is "an ever living fire, with measures of it kindling and measures being extinguished" (Frag. 30[9]).[10]

The Stoics attribute to Heraclitus the idea of cosmic conflagration (ἐκπύρωσις) but Jaeger notes that Heraclitus' intense interest is rather in the fundamental idea "that everything which occurs involves opposites and that in these very opposites unity perpetually renews itself."[11] It is apparently a later stage at which in Greek philosophy fire becomes not only one of the "elements" but (as in the Stoa) has an eschatological-cosmological function.

It is interesting to note that John the Baptist according to the tradition spoke of an eschatological fire of purification, a baptism with fire (Mt. 3:11, Lk. 3:16--cf. Mandaean fire baptism)[12] in which the old life would be annulled by fire and the new made possible.

The meaning of the fire (and water) imagery may be clearly recognized in the Catholic liturgy of the Holy Saturday Easter (Paschal) Vigil. The people assemble at the unlit church and

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[10] G. van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation (Engl. transl., 1938), p. 64.

[11] W. Jaeger, The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers (1947), p. 123, cf. also n.51 (p. 231).

[12] C.-M. Edsman, Le baptême de feu (1940), has made a study of the comparative religious background in neoplatonism early Jewish and Christian thought, Gnostic and otherwise; as well as of the cultic and eschatological role of fire in Egyptian and other Near Eastern religions.

the celebrant strikes "new fire" from a flint. After the blessing of the "new fire" the Paschal candle "the new light" is lit from the "new fire." From the "new light" of the Paschal candle the congregation may light their tapers and the church is once again illuminated. In a procession with the Paschal candle, the words: lumen Christi are repeated three times. When the procession reaches the font (for renewal of baptismal vows), the water is blessed and divided and sprinkled to the four corners of the world (signifying creation and new birth for all men through baptism). The priest then blows upon the water of the font making the form of a cross with his breath and then the Paschal candle is plunged into the font. After the priest once more blows on the water, the Paschal candle is removed and it is placed on a stand where it remains until after the reading of the Gospel on Ascension Day.

Excursus II: Religious Significance of Fire Imagery and ΠΥΡ as an Instrument of God's Judgment

That fire is an instrument of God's judgment has been touched upon in discussing the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha but it is also present in the plagues of the Egyptians (Ex. 9:24) and subsequently there is eschatological development (cf. Rev. 8:7). The fact that both theophanies and judgment use fire images shows that fire was not simply considered a blind occurrence of natural power but a punishing and refining-purifying instrument in the hands of a divine judge. In the eschatology of the O.T., fire will appear at the coming of the Lord, Joel 2:30 (3:3); the Lord will judge his enemies with destroying fire at the end-time (Mal. 3:19, Is. 66:15f., Ezek. 38:22, 39:6) and there is the concept of an eternal fire of punishment for the damned (Is. 66:24). Both God's grace and his severity may be expressed under the images of fire.

In the Intertestamental period there is further development in terms of an end-time judgment with fire as, for example, I En. 102:1, Syr. Bar. 37:1, 48:39,43, 4Ezra (= 2 Esdras) 13:10f., Ps. Sol. 15:4f., Jub. 9:15, 36:10, Sib. Or. 3:53f., 71f., 83-87.

A picture of fiery judgment--with salvation for the righteous and damnation for the wicked--can also be found in sections of the Sibylline Oracles 2[1] (which is basically a

[1]Cf. D. Flusser, "The Baptism of John and the Dead Sea

Jewish compilation),[2] in which there are numerous references to streams or rivers of burning fire, as for example: 2:196-213, 253-55, 295 and 313-16. These refer both to the punishment of the wicked and the salvation of the good.

In the N.T. fire is one of the tribulations or causes of danger and possible death to the heroes of the faith enumerated among the O.T. witnesses (Hebr. 11:34). The proverbial use of gold tested and refined in a fire (Prv. 17:3, 27:21, Sir. 2:5, Wisd. 3:6) is used in 1P 1:7 for the testing of the faith of the Christian through trials in the world--and particularly in the context of an imminent end-time. Such a period of trial becomes heightened to become a part of the trials of the end-time, the messianic woes before the final revelation of glory (δόξα). Among the signs of the end-time, fire is especially prominent in Rev. which uses the images of Jewish apocalyptic freely.

In the traditions concerning the proclamation of John the Baptist as recorded in Mt. 3:11 and Lk. 3:16 the end-time judgment appears under the image of baptism with fire. Flusser

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Sect," in C. Rabin and Y. Yadin (eds.), Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in memory of E. L. Sukenik (1961), p. 228.

[2]For the Sibylline Oracles including Book 2, see J. Geffcken (hrsgb.), Die Oracula Sibyllina [= GCS 8] (1902), ad loc. English translation: M. S. Terry (transl.), The Sibylline Oracles (1890). This is in blank verse, and is therefore not too accurate. Furthermore, the lines given in Terry differ from those in Geffcken's edition, being about thirty-five lines higher in number. For a German translation, see: A. Kurfess (ed.), Sibyllinische Weissagungen (1951).

sees so many similarities between the tradition of John's baptism and the ideas both of Iranian material and from the Sibylline Oracles (particularly those parts which he judges to go back to an early stage of Jewish compilation) that he finds the synoptic source problem of little difficulty. Both Mt. and Lk. depend both on Mk. and Q, and it is from Q that Mt. and Lk. take the verses about punishment of the wicked. Mt. 3:11 and Lk. 3:16 concerning baptism with not only the Holy Spirit (in common with Mark) but also with fire is more difficult to account for. Flusser states that the solution lies in seeing John's baptism as closely related not only to the Essene concepts of purification in fire in the last days but also to the whole conceptual milieu in which these ideas developed. Flusser cites Mt. 3:10 and Lk. 3:9 (also from Q) as further evidence in this direction. Further, if John considered the destruction of the wicked by fire a "baptism" it was because he thought, as did the Dead Sea Sect, that the fire of the last days would be like a fiery stream. That a stream of fire could also be seen as related to the purification and vindication of the good while also having elements of the double aspect of the pouring out of the Spirit in the end of days is in agreement with the concept of a day of visitation in which the wicked will be annihilated and the good purified and justified. Such ideas are found in 1QS iv.18-19, Sib. Or. 2:253-55, 313-16 and in Iranian thought.[3]

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[3]Flusser, op. cit., pp. 225f.

While Flusser's reasoning does not solve the complexity of the source problem in the synoptic gospel material, it is suggestive and sufficient for the peripheral extent to which the material on John the Baptist is used here.

The Pauline use of πῦρ which is heavily dependent on O.T. usage (e.g. 1Cor. 3:13, 2Thes. 1:8 and Mal. 3:19 [Hebr.]); and also direct quotation or conscious allusion in Rom. 12:20 to Prv. as well as the uses in the rest of the N.T. refer to eschatological fiery judgment and the final victorious outcome of an annihilating judgment of God upon the wicked in a final battle (e.g. Rev. 20:9 uses the traditional formula of 2Kg. 1:10 as Gog and Magog are overcome). An idea of a fiery hell, an eternal Gehenna, also occurs in N.T. apocalyptic.

There is also a positive aspect to fire-phenomena in the N.T. as in the O.T. The descent of the Spirit upon the Church at Pentecost (Acts 2:3) and the description of the Son of Man in Rev. 1:9ff. are continuations of the O.T. ideas associating fire with theophanies and with the heavenly δόξα.

The agraphon of the Lord noted in Origen (In Jerem. Hom. lat. III. 3) "Qui iuxta me est, iuxta ignem est; qui longe est a me, longe est a regno,"[4] has now been found in the Gospel of Thomas:[5] "He that is near me is near the fire; he that is

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[4]Quoted in J. Jeremias, Unknown Sayings of Jesus (Engl. transl. 1964[2]), p. 66, n.2. See further on this agraphon in Jeremias, pp. 66-73.

[5]A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel et al. (transl. and eds.), The Gospel according to Thomas (1959), logion 82.

far from me is far from the kingdom." This extra-canonical dominical saying, which must date back to at least the second half of the second century, conforms to the basic idea that is expressed in Lk. 12:49 (cf. Mk. 9:49, 12:34). The way of Christian discipleship is linked with such fire imagery and 1P 1:7 also fits this context (cf. 1P 4:12f.).

Particularly in considering Essene material on cosmic conflagration, the possible role of dependence on Iranian or other influences is to be considered. In such a passage as 1QH iii.19-36 there is a description of end-time judgment including fiery torrents[6] which destroy the world in a massive cataclysm until with the help of the hosts of heaven the eternal foundations dissolve and eternal devastation is the result. At least the last lines of this passage are clearly in eschatological context, and certainly has affinities with O.T. themes of fiery judgment, with the world of thought of early post-biblical Jewish apocalypticism as well as those of other religions in the milieu. The passages such as 1QH iii.19-36 and 2Peter 3:10 are both products of apocalyptic communities and if both appear to share a similar idea of world conflagration, this need not be dependent on any particular religious system of thought--such as that of Iranian eschatology at one stage or another--but is rather typical of "apocalypticism" itself.

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[6]The fiery stream = torrents of Belial...like a devouring fire, line 29 (נחלי בליעל...כאש אוכלת).

In describing apocalyptic movements [and the early Church, as well as Qumran, share in this description] Cross writes:

> In a world filled with a rich mixture of ideas, many of Hellenistic, Iranian, and ancient oriental origin, the apocalyptic impulse to recapture the old prophetic understanding of the history of salvation results in fact in the creation of a new theology of history obsessed with "last things." Prophecy became eschatology.
>
> Apocalypticism sees world history in the grip of warring forces, God and Satan, the spirits of truth and error, light and darkness. The struggle of God with man, and of man with sin, evil, and death becomes objectified into a cosmic struggle. The world, captive to evil powers and principalities which have been given authority in the era of divine wrath, can be freed only by the divine might. But the day of God's salvation and judgment dawns. The old age has moved to its allotted end and the age of consummation is at hand, the age of the vindication of the elect and the redemption of the world...The Satanic forces, now brought to bay, break out in a final, defiant convulsion, manifest in the persecutions, temptations and tribulations of the faithful...Such apocalyptic themes find their way into various forms of literature...The mythological imagery of the ancient Near East, including dualistic themes from Iran, strongly color the language of [apocalyptic]...Myths of creation are turned to the use of eschatology, to point to the struggle issuing in the "new creation."[7]

That both the Qumran community and the early Church used the variety of concepts of the milieu in which they developed not only explains traces of such concepts but also makes it unnecessary to postulate any precise direction of influence.

Concerning Jewish biblical apocalyptic, and the early post-biblical material, including Qumran, Cross continues: "The diverse borrowings are wholly informed by the Judaic

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[7] ALQ, p. 76f., n.35a.

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spirit."[8] So, too, the early Church borrowed and utilized ideas both from the Jewish matrix from which it emerged and from the Hellenistic world into which it spread. Each concept must therefore be examined, constantly remembering that <u>as used</u> it may differ from the background from which it appears to have originated and be transformed to a meaning which it receives by virtue of its use in a new context and with new hearers or readers. Just as in the O.T. fire has many associations other than those restricted to end-time judgment or punishment; as, for example, fire in the cult and scrifice, as a means of purification, in Holy War, and as a simile for testing in suffering or oppression; so, too, at Qumran, the image of fire can denote tribulation or distress (1QH iv.33, vi.25, viii.20 and 30, et passim).

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[8]Ibid., p. 78, end of n.35a.

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Excursus III: Fire Imagery and Eschatological Baptism with Fire

Stendahl notes that the metaphor of the power of fire to purify and assay precious metals and separate them from the base is often used of divine testing and purification. A central cultic and religious function of fire in association with sacrifice, purification and holy war--particularly in the religions of the ancient Near East--was intensified and fused with the imagery of purification. It is possible that behind the figurative expression of such passages as Mal. 3:2-3 and Ps. 66:10 there is a quite concrete idea. In Zech. 13:9 there may be a trace of an actual "ordeal by fire" as proof of purity and sign of purification.[1]

The N.T. uses fire imagery in many diverse areas ranging from the traditions of baptism by fire in the messianic age (Mt. 3:11, Lk. 3:16), and judgment by fire in the end time (Mt. 3:12, Lk. 3:17), the strange saying regarding being "salted with fire" (Mk. 9:49),[2] the descent of tongues of fire

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[1] K. Stendahl, art. "Luttringseld [πύρωσις]," in I. Engnell (ed.), Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk, [= SBU] I (1962²), cols. 1541-42.

[2] A. Fridrichsen, "Würzung mit Feuer," in Symbolae Osloenses, Fasc. IV (1926), pp. 36-38, uses Hellenistic parallels to show that salt in everyday usage is for preparation of foods in cooking both to preserve and season them. He applies this metaphorically to man, that he should be "schmackhaft, angenehm (für Gott) gemacht werden." The fire imagery contributes in that "Unter dem Feuer ist natürlich an Leiden und Drangsal zu denken..." as well as a means of religious and

at Pentecost (Acts 2:3); testing of man's work: ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον φανερὸν γενήσεται· ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει, ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται, καὶ ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον ὁποῖόν ἐστιν τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸ δοκιμάσει, (1Cor. 3:13, cf. 3:15); and an image of a burning fiery lake of eternal punishment (Rev. 19:20, 20:10,14). It can thus be easily seen that, as in the O.T. and the Intertestamental period, there is ambiguity concerning the function of fire. This becomes particularly complex when fire and the Spirit become associated phenomena in the development of ideas concerning baptism. It has been postulated that the concept of a fiery eschatological baptism which arose partly against the background of O.T. fire imagery and partly from other influences in the milieu of early Christianity is that the community of the end time must "ratify" its water-baptism through its counterpart in the new age: baptism by fire. But such baptism by fire partakes of the same ambiguity as concepts

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ethical perfecting. He finds the point of the combination of both fire and salt imagery to be "dass die schärfere Zubereitungsweise als die unumgänglich notwendige gegenüber der milderen bezeichnet wird (p. 37). Das Feuer fügt sich dabei nicht unorganisch in das Bild hinein, sondern organisch als das schärfere Mittel für die Zubereitung" (p. 38). W. Nauck, "Salt as a Metaphor in Instructions for Discipleship," StTh6 (1952), 165-78, uses the Semitic background and finds both salt and fire to be metaphors, "alternate expressions for purification through divinely ordained suffering and persecution" (p. 173), applied to the disciples. Both Fridrichsen and Nauck disconnect the enigmatic saying of Mk. 9:49 from the preceding thought of the fire of Hell.

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such as "visitation" and "end-time trials"--grace and salvation for the elect and destruction for the unfaithful. Fridrichsen suggests that the contrast between "having been baptized with water" by John and "he (the Messiah) will baptize you with fire" might be a concluding exhortation or paraenesis to those baptized, warning them prophetically that the consequences of water-baptism must be taken seriously since a baptism by fire must be undergone in a future judgment. John's baptism was, then, a truly eschatological sacrament giving hope and power and newness of life that the Christian might endure the final judgment.[3]

Jesus' baptism by John the Baptist develops particularly in traditions of the Eastern church with association of light as well as fire phenomena over the river Jordan. In Justin, Dial. 88,3 it is narrated that when Jesus went down to the water where John was baptizing, fire was kindled in the Jordan. This tradition could be seen as dependent on a reference in the Diatessaron, as quoted by Ephraem (4th Cent.).[4] According to Epiphanius (Panarion, 30,13) when Jesus came out of the water light shone around the Jordan (cf. Sib. Or. 7:82-84). Particularly in the Syriac church this tradition of fire and light phenomena associated with Jesus' baptism is found not

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[3]Fridrichsen, Johannes' vattendop och det messianska eld-dopet, Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift (1941:7,3), pp. 1-14.

[4]A. L. Williams (transl., intro. and notes), Justin Martyr: The Dialogue with Trypho (1930) ad loc. and n.3 (p. 187). Cf. C. M. Edsman, Le Baptême de feu (1940), p. 182f.

only in written tradition but also in 4th-5th Cent. iconography.[5]

In the development of thought reflecting on the fire already kindled by the Messiah on earth (Lk. 12:49) Jesus' martyr death may be connected also with fire-baptism imagery (Lk. 12:50). In Mk. 10:38f. where Jesus asks the sons of Zebedee: "Can you be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?", Mark apparently applies an interpretation of the tradition reflected in Lk. 12:50, (Jesus' death as a baptism) to a general application first to a prediction of the suffering and death of the sons of Zebedee (cf. Mk. 14:36 and 14:25 with their clear allusion to the death of Jesus).[6] Such imagery is then further developed to the ideas of suffering-discipleship in general.

The baptism of John and that of the Qumran sect has similarity as, for example, having repentance as a requirement for purification. The element of fire at the end of days both at Qumran and in the baptism of John the Baptist probably is to be traced to a common origin. Fire images are used to describe the sufferings of the righteous which they suffer in the time of wickedness (קץ הרשע) in order to be purified. In Jewish tradition the one who judges and saves and pours out the Spirit in the last days is God. In the N.T. these functions

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[5] Edsman, op. cit., pp. 183ff. esp. p. 185, n.1.

[6] See: G. Braumann, "Leidenskelch und Todestaufe (Mc 10: 38f.)," ZNW56 (1965), 178-83.

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are expected of God's elect one, the Messiah. But it is to be noted that this very difference also exists in the Jewish Intertestamental period: in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in I Enoch. Flusser makes a comparison of 1QS iv.20 and IEn. 45:3.

> 1QS iv.18-20: ...But in the mysteries of his understanding and in his glorious wisdom God has ordained an end for the existence of perversity and at the time (19) of visitation he will destroy it forever. Then truth shall arise in the world forever; for it has defiled itself in the ways of wickedness under the dominion of perversity until (20) the time of final judgment. Then God will purify by his truth all the works of man...
>
> IEn. 45:3: ...On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory and shall try their works...

Such a shift of a function of God attributed to His Elect One can be seen to have already taken place in Intertestamental Jewish thought if God's elect one is the Messiah; and Flusser postulates that either John or the circle from which he came could have transferred this judging function and baptism of the Spirit to the Messiah, and thus it could have entered N.T. thought.[7]

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[7] D. Flusser, "The Baptism of John and the Dead Sea Sect," in C. Rabin and Y. Yadin (eds.), Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in memory of E. L. Sukenik (1961), p. 230. [In Hebrew].

APPENDIX A

Text-Critical Notes on 1 Peter 4:12a

P^{72} will be used for a point of comparison for a text-critical study of 1P 4:12a. All Greek manuscripts noted have been converted to Gregory numbers,[1] if not already in that form in the editions cited. P^{72} reads: ...μη ξενειζεσθε εκει τη εν υμιν πυρωσει προς πειρασ[μ]ον υμειν γεινομενη... Correcting for spelling errors and itacisms, this would read: μη ξενιζεσθε επι τη εν υμιν πυρωσει προς πειρασμον υμιν γινομενη

επι: cum 103 (XI), 312 (XI), 314 (XI), 327 (XIII), 378 (XII), 467 (XV) and 606 (XI). This simply illustrates the use of the preposition ἐπὶ after ξενίζω (as in Polyb. 2, 27, 4) rather than the dative after the verb[2] and is omitted by the rest of the Greek manuscripts. This variant does not significantly change the meaning of translation of the verse.

πυρωσει: loco πωρωσει: 3* (XII). This variant in the first hand of a 12th Century manuscript is probably not more significant than a scribal error in copying or spelling.

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[1] K. Aland, Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments (1963) [= Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung I].

[2] F. Blass-A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. (A Translation and Revision of the ninth-tenth German edition incorporating supplementary notes of A. Debrunner by R. W. Funk, 1961), section 196.

loco δοκιμωσια: 2138 (1072), 1518 (XV ?) and 1765 (XIV). The reading δοκιμασία in the place of πύρωσις is a more interesting variant. In von Soden there is an indication that he considered the reading to be influenced by Hebr. 3:8-9, which is a quotation of Ps. 94(95)8-9. Although the difficulty of the textual problem and its interesting features can only be hinted at here, von Soden's reasoning would appear to be based on the following observations concerning the respective texts of Hebr. 3:8-9, Ps. 94:8-9 (LXX) = Ps. 95:8-9 (M.T.) and 1P 4:12, not incorporating the full study of variants, but showing the underlying thought:

Hebr. 3:8-9	Ps. 94:8-9 (LXX)	Ps. 95:8-9 (M.T.)
ὡς ἐν τ. παρα-πικρασμῷ	ὡς ἐν τ. παρα-πικρασμῳ	כמריבה
κατὰ τ. ἡμέραν τ. πειρασμοῦ	κατὰ τ. ἡμέραν τ. πειρασμοῦ	כיום מסה
ἐπείρασαν (v. l. με)	ἐπείρασάν με	נסוני
⌜ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ⌝ (v. l. ἐδοκίμασαν)	ἐδοκίμασαν	בחנוני

Meribah and Massah occur together here in Ps. 94(95)8-9 cf. Num. 20:13,24), in Ex. 17:7: ויקרא שם המקום מסה ומריבה and in Dt. 33:8 אשר נסיתו על-ריב בני ישראל ועל נסתם את-יהוה:

במסה תריבהו על-מי מריבה[3] There are no textual variants on Ps. 94:8-9.[4] The context of these passages is in general that of warning to the readers concerning what had happened to the Israelites in the wilderness wandering.

While it is possible that the combination in 1P 4:12 of πύρωσις and πειρασμός in some way became associated with Hebrews 3:8-9 and its quotation of Ps. 94(95):8-9 and their juxtaposition of various forms and variants of πειρασμός-δοκιμάζω (δοκιμασία), it does not seem either too likely or significant to be reckoned as other than an interesting speculation on the understanding of such terms combined with each other. That מסה could become πειρασμός and possibly be equated in some way with πειρασμόςin 1P4:12 seems possible, but although the verbs נסה and בחן are synonymous and could possibly be equated with πύρωσις, it is not clear precisely why the reference to Hebr. 3:8-9 is given as "explanation" of a reading of δοκιμασία in the place of πύρωσις. It is נסה which is most frequently rendered in the LXX as πειράζω and בחן with δοκιμάζω. In the first line of Prv. 17:3 מצרף is "translated" in terms of δοκιμάζεται ἐν καμίνῳ ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός while the identical Hebrew first line of Prv. 27:21 is δοκιμίον ἀργὺρῳ καὶ

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[3]According to F. M. Cross, Jr., Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry (1950), p. 220, Dt. 33:8-10 is not a part of the 10th Century B.C. Blessing of Moses as it is completely different in style, meter and content from the rest of the poem.

[4]A. Rahlfs (ed.), Psalmi cum Odis (1931) [Göttingen LXX, X].

χρυσῷ πύρωσις and πύρωσις appears to translate כור which is parallel to מצרף. That the group of ideas are related is clear--but not clear enough to shed light on the problem of the relationship of δοκιμασία/πύρωσις to πειρασμός. That πύρωσις has the variant δοκιμασία in but three late witnesses shows only that there may have been some confusion and speculation about the equivalents for πύρωσις.

Indeed, it may even be possible that the single reading πώρωσις in place of πύρωσις in the first hand of 3 indicates interest in the σκληρύνητε of Hebr. 3:8-9, if perhaps σκληρύνω and πώρωσις, both meaning "hardening" (e.g. of the heart) in a figurative usage became associated. But this seems very far-fetched.

That πύρωσις might have a synonymous variant, δοκιμασία, is certainly not strange, particularly if δοκιμασία, a very clearly defined word is substituted for the term, πύρωσις used metaphorically and possibly obscurely in 1P 4:12. But this very minor textual evidence is only of passing interest and cannot be considered significant for the history of the development or transmission of the text.

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